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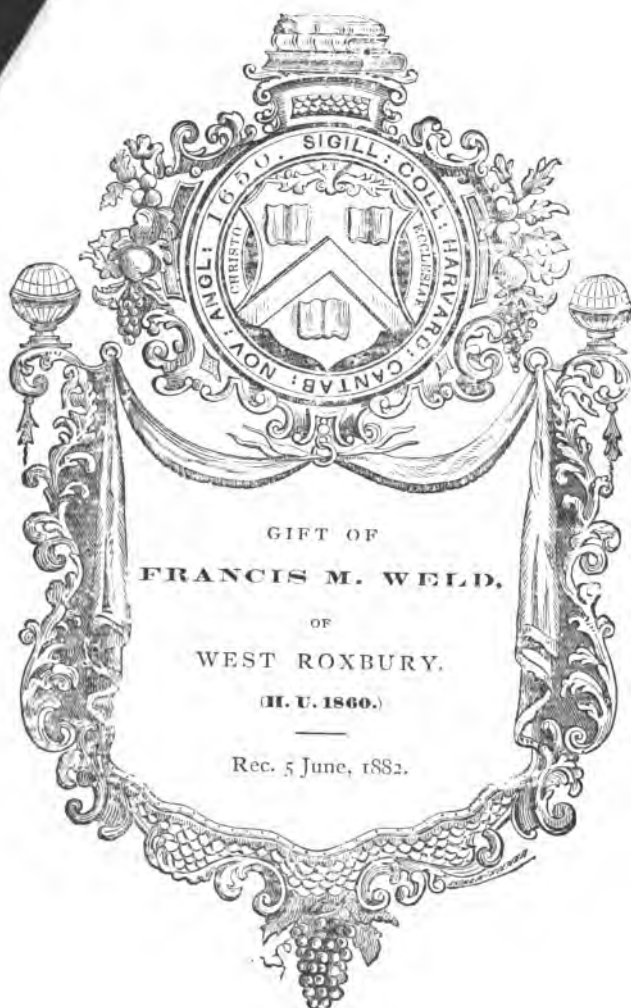
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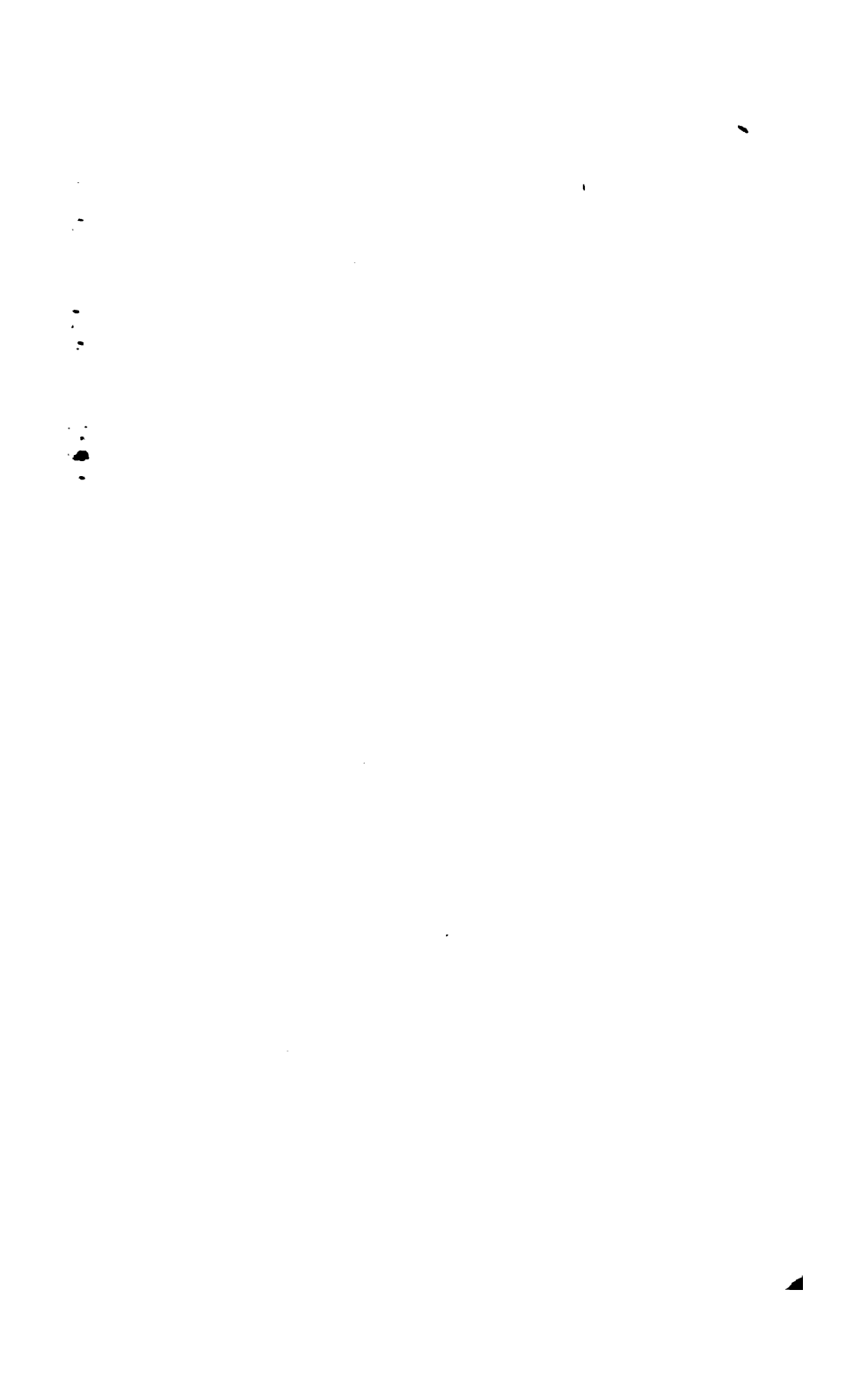
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# XENOPHON'S ANABASIS,

WITH

*Explanatory Notes,*

FOR THE

USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

**JAMES P. BOISE,**

PROFESSOR OF GREEK IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

WITH KIEPERT'S MAP,

SHOWING THE ENTIRE ROUTE OF THE TEN THOUSAND,

AND

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ANABASIS,

TRANSLATED FROM HERTLEIN.

C.

NEW YORK:

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Τῇ ἐστρατεῖᾳ { λεκτ. . . εὐχιν. . . }

κεν. . . , 22, 23

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Εὐχιν. . . . .

II. 2. 8 κεν. . . II. 2. 1

the rest ἡ ἄλλος with the article.

THE REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D.D., LL.D.,

LATE PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY,

κεν. 2. 28

THIS EDITION OF THE ANABASIS

Is Respectfully Inscribed,

(κεν. 2. 11)

TO THE REV. FRANCIS WAYLAND, D.D., LL.D.,

AND FOR INVALUABLE SUGGESTIONS ON THE STUDY AND

TEACHING OF THE ANCIENT LANGUAGES,

Σενοφ. III, I. 27

BY HIS FORMER PUPIL,

THE EDITOR.

κεν. 3. 2. 4 | Σενοφ. III, I. 25

κεν. 1. 4. 19, [ἐπιστις αὐτοῦ]  
ἐπιστις αὐτοῦ

κεν. 1. 9. 13 | 2 κεν. 2. 1. 12  
κεν. 2. 1. 15



## P R E F A C E .

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SINCE the notes which accompany the latest American editions of the *Anabasis* were written, the following excellent editions have appeared in Germany :

1. Kühner's *Anabasis*, published in 1852, with a Latin Commentary, and with critical annotations on the text. Dr. Kühner is well known to scholars in this country through his excellent Grammars of the Greek language, translated by Messrs. Edwards & Taylor, of Andover, Mass., and also through his Latin Grammar, translated by Professor Champlin, of Waterville College, Maine. His edition of the *Anabasis* exhibits the same critical scholarship and sound judgment as his other works.

2. An edition by K. Matthiae, also published in 1852, with German notes, and an appendix containing a Lexicon and Grammar adapted to the *Anabasis*.

3. Several different editions by K. W. Krüger. Of these, the editor has in his possession the edition of 1845, which is an enlargement of the edition of 1830, the first

which was published with German notes: also the edition of 1849, which contains a *delectus emendationum* and a Greek-German Lexicon of the Anabasis; and lastly the edition of 1850, with numerous and very valuable grammatical notes in German.

4. F. K. Hertlein's Anabasis. This belongs to the deservedly popular series of Greek and Latin authors with German notes, published by Weidmann, in Leipsic. The grammatical notes, though not so numerous and full as those of Krüger, are always to the point: and are indeed often so similar to those of Krüger, as to give some plausibility to the charge of plagiarism in this part of the work. Hertlein has also added in his 2d edition, 1854, extensive geographical notes, taken by permission from the works of Kiepert. Thus we have in Hertlein's edition unquestionably the most complete and accurate geographical commentary, which has ever been published with a school edition of the Anabasis.

While therefore in the preparation of this edition, the older helps in such a work have not been neglected, it has been the chief aim of the editor to embody as fully as possible the results of the most recent investigations bearing on this subject. Free use has consequently been made of the labors particularly of Krüger and of Hertlein; while, at the same time, the fact has not been lost sight of, that the classical schools of this country are behind those of Germany, and that simpler and more elementary explanations are therefore often

necessary in a work prepared for American schools. The geographical notes are almost exclusively translated from Kiepert as cited by Hertlein.

The grammatical references are to Kühner's Greek Grammar, translated by Messrs. Edwards & Taylor, and published by Messrs. D. Appleton & Company, of New York. It was deemed superfluous in a school edition to make references to the grammatical works of Jelf, Buttmann, and Matthiae, which are at present seldom, if ever, used by the pupils in our schools: nor was it thought expedient to add references to Kühner's Elementary Greek Grammar, or to the excellent works of Champlin, Kendrick, Sophocles, Crosby, and McClintock. The careful learner who uses either of these grammars in preference to that of Kühner will generally find by the aid of his index or table of contents the principle in question.

The text of this edition is intended to be an exact reprint of that of Hertlein. It will be perceived that *pp* appears without the usual breathings; and also, that capital letters are used only for proper names or their derivatives, and to commence distinct paragraphs (not single sentences). This is in conformity with the series of Weidmann and of Teubner. A table, exhibiting the passages in which Hertlein varies from L. Dindorf's edition, published by Teubner in 1851, has been appended to the text.

The editor cannot refrain from expressing in this connection, his high appreciation of the excellent edi-



tion of the *Anabasis* published in this country in 1848, by Rev. Dr. J. J. Owen. This work has been constantly examined in connection with those above mentioned, and for the suggestions thence derived, as well as for many personal favors, the editor desires to express his grateful acknowledgments.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, June, 1856.

## INTRODUCTION.

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§ 1. AMONG the most distinguished of ancient authors, whose works still present, after the lapse of more than two thousand years, an inexhaustible fountain of the noblest enjoyment and the richest instruction, *ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ*, an Athenian, son of Gryllus, has justly acquired a conspicuous position. The year of his birth cannot with certainty be given; and it would seem quite proper in a work of this kind to pass over the investigation of this point, were there not in the *Anabasis* itself several passages which bear upon it. The third year of the 82d Olympiad = 450 B. C., is the date commonly assumed, having been inferred from the statement of Stesiclides, cited by Diogenes Laertius (II, 56), who places his death in the first year of the 105th Olympiad = 360 B. C., added to the statement of Lucian (in the *Μακρόβιοι* ch. 21), that he lived more than ninety years. But the statement of Stesiclides is more than doubtful, because in the *Historia Graeca* VI, 4, 36, the death of Alexander tyrant of Pherae is mentioned; and this took place, according to Diodorus Siculus (XVI, 14), in the 4th year of the 105th Olympiad; hence Xenophon must have lived several years after 360, B. C. The passages in the *Anabasis* which bear on this question, are the following:—1st,

in 3, 1, 14, and 25, he alludes to his age as though he might appear too youthful to take the position of commander; 2d, in 3, 2, 37, Xenophon and Timasion are mentioned as the youngest generals; 3d, in 5, 3, 1, all, who were more than forty years of age, are represented as taking ship, while Xenophon, with those who were younger, continues the march by land, and in 7, 3, 46, he is spoken of as commander of those who had not yet passed the thirtieth year of their age; 4th, in 7, 6, 34, it is implied that he had no children. All of these passages, however, fail to justify the assertion that Xenophon was scarcely more than 26 or 27 years of age at that time; since, when generals were chosen by the popular vote, it was customary to elect only those who were men of experience, and somewhat advanced in years; and, for this reason, the first two passages above referred to, prove nothing decisive. Nor does the fact, that Proxenus was only about thirty years of age (*Anab.* 2, 6, 20), Agias and Socrates about thirty-five (2, 6, 30), and Menon much younger (2, 6, 28), bear at all on this question; because these generals were not chosen by their own soldiers. So also the two passages cited under the 3d head, prove nothing with certainty; for the leader might be older than the men whom he commanded, inasmuch as he commonly went on horseback, and could thus more easily bear the fatigues of the march than the common soldier who must go on foot. The last passage above cited, presents nothing from which any positive conclusion can be drawn respecting the age of Xenophon. On the contrary, it is implied in 7, 2, 38, that he was of such an age that he might be supposed to have a marriageable daughter. Furthermore, Diogenes Laertius (II, 22), and Strabo (IX, 2, p. 251, Tauchn.), relate that Xenophon was engaged in the battle of Delium (which occurred Olymp. LXXXIX, 1 = 424, B. C.). Now as the Athenians did not perform military duty beyond the borders of Attica before the twentieth year of their age, Krüger\* concludes that Xenophon may have been born about

\* *De Xenophontis vita.* Hal. Sax. 1822.

Olymp. LXXXIV, 1 — 444, B. C., and consequently that he may have been about forty-four years of age at the time of the expedition into Upper Asia.

Of Xenophon's youth we know little. It appears from *Anab.* 7, 8, 4, that he belonged to a family of considerable wealth; and it cannot be doubted that he received a careful education. To the culture of his mind were doubtless added those gymnastic exercises which always constituted an important part of an Athenian education: he shows, at least in his own writings, a great fondness for horsemanship, and for the chase. On his spiritual development, no person exerted so great an influence as Socrates, to whom he has consecrated an offering of genuine love and admiration in his literary works. That he was also a hearer of the celebrated Sophist Prodicus, of Ceos, is related by Philostratus in the *Lives of the Sophists*, I, 12; from which passage it also appears that he spent some time in Boeotia as a prisoner. Here he appears to have contracted that friendship for Proxenus which exerted on the events of his subsequent life so marked an influence.

Induced by Proxenus (*Anab.* 3, 1, 4), he repaired in the year 401, B. C. to Asia Minor, where he was introduced to the younger Cyrus, whom he accompanied in the expedition against Artaxerxes II. The principal motives which led him to follow Cyrus, were probably the desire of military renown, and the hope of increasing his fortune, which most likely had been greatly impaired, like that of many other Athenians, in the disasters attending and following the Peloponnesian war. These motives overcame the scruples which he at first experienced in view of the hostility of Cyrus towards Athens, and the consequent probability that he might incur the jealousy of his native city.

After the battle of Cunaxa, and after most of the Grecian generals had been taken and executed by the treachery of the Persians, Xenophon was the first to animate the drooping spirits of the Greeks and from this time forth he was the soul

of every enterprise in the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand. The remnant of these, after their return, were united with the troops of the Spartan Thibron (or Thimbron), to defend the Greek colonies in Asia Minor against the Persians. In the expedition under Thibron and his successor Dercylidas, Xenophon appears also to have taken part; perhaps as leader of the *Kύριοι* (cf. 3, 2, 17). It is at least certain that he accompanied Agesilaus, first in his military operations against the Persians in the year 396, B. C., and afterwards in 394, B. C., in his march through Thrace and Thessaly to Bœotia; and that in the battle of Coronca he fought on the side of the Lacedæmonians against his own fellow-citizens. This proceeding, which has been severely censured by some modern scholars, especially by Niebuhr, will be viewed in a much milder light when all of the circumstances as well as the prevailing opinions of the time are taken into consideration. The Greeks, notwithstanding their subdivision into many States, considered themselves as united into one people by a common language and religion, as well as by similar customs and institutions. Hence as a general rule those who were banished, did not hesitate to join in war with another State against their paternal city, under the idea that they were only contending for their own rights against a party which was hostile to themselves. The censure which has on this account fallen on Xenophon, belongs, therefore, not so much to him as to the age in which he lived.

Xenophon was banished (probably soon after he passed over with the army from Europe into Asia, Anab. 7, 7, 57), for the reason that he had entered into the service of Cyrus, who, through the most active support given to the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponnesian war, had been the principal cause of that result which was so disastrous to Athens. The situation in which Xenophon was placed, fully explains, if it does not justify, his conduct. To this must be added the general admiration for the Spartan constitution, which culti-

vated men at Athens then felt, owing to the corruption of the democracy, in which admiration Xenophon participated; and also that friendship and respect for Agesilaus, of which his writings afford abundant evidence.

Through the influence of his friend Agesilaus, Xenophon received as a reward for his important services in the war, a valuable estate at Scillus, in that part of Elis which had been taken by Sparta. Here, with a part of the spoils which were saved from the Persian expedition, he built and consecrated to Artemis that sanctuary which he so pleasantly describes in the *Anab.* 5, 3. Here in the enjoyment of rural quietude and leisure, such as a life of toil had fitted him to appreciate, he probably composed the greater part of his works. He was not however permitted to continue in the quiet possession of his estate. After the power of Sparta had been for ever broken in the battle of Leuctra (371, B. C.), the Eleans regained possession of Scillus, and compelled Xenophon to abandon his residence. The last years of his life were spent at Corinth: nor did his recall from banishment, effected by the influence of Eubulus, induce him to return to Athens. He, however, sent thither his two sons Gryllus and Diodorus, to join the army which the Athenians furnished, for aid to the Lacedæmonians just before the battle of Mantinea. Gryllus fell in battle while bravely fighting; and the Athenians claimed for him the honor of having mortally wounded the great Theban commander. Xenophon received the tidings of the death of Gryllus with the deepest sorrow; yet he bore the affliction in a manner worthy of the greatest men of antiquity. The year of his death is no more certain than that of his birth. Still we may assume that it did not occur before Olymp. CVI, 2 — 355, B. C., since it scarcely admits of a doubt that the small work *πρόοι ἢ περὶ προόδων* was written after the Social war which lasted from Olymp. CV, 3, to CVI, 1.

§ 2. Of the character of Xenophon, we are able to obtain a very complete view from his writings, especially from the

**Anabasis.** His leading traits were a refined susceptibility for all that is noble and good, mildness of disposition, fondness for pleasantries united with a firmness and decision which were invincible even in the most trying situations, a heart formed for friendship, and a remarkable devotion to persons of distinguished excellence; which, while it proves his sympathies to have been generous, at the same time not unfrequently obscures the clearness of his vision as a historian. Notwithstanding his fondness for philosophical studies, the pious faith of his ancestors lives in him undisturbed;—a fact which at first view appears surprising, but which is understood on the ground that Xenophon contemplated philosophy only in its bearings on real life, while from those more profound inquiries which Plato pursued, Xenophon stood almost entirely aloof.

§ 3. As an author, his practical nature leads him to treat principally of the events of his time, of the art of war, of political economy, and of the duties of the citizen in his relation to the state, as well as to the family. His writings therefore may be divided into historical, military, political, and philosophical. To his historical works belong the *Anabasis*, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully below, and the *Historia Græca* (*Ἑλληνικά*), consisting of seven books which are a continuation of the work of Thucydides, and which contain a history of Greece from the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war down to the battle of Mantinea (from 410 to 362, B. C.); and to the same class of works belongs also the *Agésilæus*. The *Ἱππαρχικός* is a military treatise on the duties of a leader of cavalry; and to the same subject belongs also, for the most part, the tract *περὶ ἱππικῆς*. So also in close connection with these works, stands the *Κυνηγετικός*, a treatise on hunting, the practice of which Xenophon considers an excellent school preparatory for war. His political writings comprise several smaller works; one on the Lacedæmonian State, another on the Athenian State (this latter, however, is probably not the work of Xenophon), a treatise on revenues, and a

tract on the tyrant Hiero (Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία, Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, Πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων, Ἴερων ἢ Τύραννος). To his philosophical writings belong the Memoirs of Socrates, Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους, the Banquet (Συμπόσιον), the Oeconomicus (Οἰκονομικός), and the Apology of Socrates (Σωκράτους ἀπολογία), which is perhaps supposititious. To all these various classes belongs the Κύρου παιδεία, a sort of didactic, historical romance, in which Xenophon sets forth his own ideal of an accomplished ruler in the person of the elder Cyrus.

Most of Xenophon's writings are not less distinguished for their outward form, than for their valuable and important contents. Though his style is simple and unadorned (whence he has been called ὁ ἀφελὴς καὶ ἰσχνὸς χαρακτήρ), yet it glides along in an easy and charming manner, for the most part in a uniform and quiet stream. Though he seldom rises above this simplicity to a more elevated diction, yet he is by no means wanting in oratorical impressiveness and convincing clearness. He uses metaphors and other rhetorical figures somewhat sparingly, but is nice and tasteful in the choice of words, without being over-anxious for variety of expression. Nor is he very thoughtful to give a periodic roundness to his entire sentences or great regularity to the several parts: on the contrary he often passes in the midst of a sentence from one construction to another, after the manner of lively conversation: so that in few of the better Greek authors does the anacoluthon occur so often. With such characteristics of style, so far removed from all poetical coloring, it is the more surprising that he should so often employ single words, which, by other Attic writers, are used only in poetry. It would be injustice to Xenophon to suppose that this frequent use of poetic words arises from an effort to adorn his style; since this would be as tasteless and inept, as if one should seek to adorn a simple garment with here and there a purple patch. It is much rather to be explained on the ground of his protracted residence in foreign lands, and his intercourse with Greeks of various tribes



and dialects, especially with the Lacedæmonians, among whom words, which were merely poetic with the Athenians, may have been in common use; and hence quite naturally adopted by Xenophon from his ordinary language into his writings. On account of this and some other peculiarities of style, the ancient grammarians did not reckon Xenophon among the pure Atticists. But the general estimate of his character as a writer, is clearly shown by the appellation, Attic Muse, or Attic Bee (names so often given him), and also by the judgment of Cicero and of Quintilian.\*

§ 4. To attempt any thing like a general estimate of the value and importance of Xenophon's entire works, would require too much space; we cannot, however, in this introduction to a historical work, neglect to present very briefly some of the most important points relating to his character as a historian; and in this view not simply the *Anabasis* requires consideration, but also especially the *Hellenica*. This work, although of the highest value, and in certain parts admirable, is on the whole the least finished of Xenophon's more extended writings, being as it would seem not so much a finished work, as a rough sketch, in which the author aimed less to present a full historic development, than to set forth particular points of interest to himself. \* \* \* \*

§ 5. The *Anabasis* on the contrary, unquestionably the most attractive of Xenophon's writings, resembles a landscape in full sunlight. Every thing lies bright and open before our eyes: nothing stands in the shade, so as to give greater prominence to other objects: every thing appears in its proper

\* Cic. Orat. § 82, (*Xenophontis*) *sermo est ille quidem melle dulcior*; and § 62. *Xenophontis voce Musas quasi locutas ferunt*.—Quintilian X, 1, 82. *Quid ego commemorem Xenophontis illam jucunditatem inaffectedam, sed quam nulla consequi affectatio possit? ut ipsæ sermonem finis Gratiæ videantur, et, quod de Pericle veteris comædiæ testimonium est, in hunc transferri justissime possit, in labris ejus sedisse quandam persuadendi deam.*

stature and coloring : nothing is exaggerated, nothing is presented in too brilliant hues. The most remarkable events are described with the same ease and freedom as the most commonplace. \* \* \* \* \* Aside from these excellencies, the *Anabasis* is important also on this account, because it presents a new step in the historic art, in which the author writes the history of his own deeds. This is at least the case from the beginning of the third book, where Xenophon for the first time becomes conspicuous. Furthermore, we have in this work the most important information respecting the contemporary condition of Greece, as well as of the Persian empire. The knowledge of still other countries and nations was also very greatly promoted by the *Anabasis*, since the author communicates the most valuable information respecting regions which till then were scarcely known by name, and which even at a later period were not accurately described. Finally it is a most important work for the study of the Grecian military system. In every thing relating to this subject, the author shows the highest intelligence. \* \* \* \* \* Much, however, especially in the beginning of the work, which the reader would fain know, and which is of importance, as well as much which is actually communicated, is passed over too lightly ; and hence, as a mere historical work, the *Anabasis* cannot be compared with the great artistic productions of Thucydides, Sallust and Tacitus.

§ 6. The author of the *Anabasis* always speaks as though he had not himself attended the march, but as though he had received his information from another. Thus he says in 1, 8, 6, λέγεται ; 1, 8, 18, λέγουσι δέ τινες ; 1, 10, 1, ἐλέγοντο : 5, 4, 34, ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευόμενοι. Only in the supposititious passage 7, 8, 25, do we find the first person ἐπήλθομεν. For this reason and also from the statement in *Hellen.* 3, 1, 2, where the following passage occurs : Ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατεύμα τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες

ἐνὶ δόλῳ, Θεμιστογένη τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται, some persons have formerly denied that Xenophon was the author of the *Anabasis*. In opposition to this view, we are to consider the exact correspondence of the *Anabasis* with the other acknowledged writings of Xenophon, not simply in language, but also in their entire spirit,—in religious views, in fondness for military tactics, for horses and for the chase, as well as a great variety of particulars which cannot be enumerated here. In a word, the unprejudiced reader cannot entertain a doubt that Xenophon only could have written in the way in which the *Anabasis* is actually written.\* Furthermore, the testimony of antiquity is undivided that Xenophon was the author of the *Anabasis*. How then are we to explain the fact that, in the passage of the *Hellenica* above cited, Xenophon should refer not to his own work, but to that of Hermogenes. It cannot be said in reply that the *Hellenica* was written before the *Anabasis*, and on this account he was unable to refer to his own work on this subject: for although it cannot with certainty be determined in what year the *Anabasis* actually was written, yet it is quite certain that it was completed earlier than the *Hellenica*. The latter was not finished before Olymp. CV. 4 = 357, B. C. (cf. §1, above); while the *Anabasis* must have been written before the recovery of Scyllus by the Eleans, that is before Olymp. CII, 2 = 371 B. C., otherwise some allusion would doubtless have been made in 5, 3; to the loss of his estate.† Doubtless the true key to the difficulty is furnished by Plutarch, who says that Xenophon published the *Anabasis* under the name of Themistogenes, to render it more credible.

\* The investigation is carried out in a complete and exact manner in the tract by C. W. Krüger, de authentia et integritate *Anabaseos* Xenophonteo. Halis. Sax. 1824.

† That the composition of the *Anab.* is to be dated at least 18 or 20 years after the return of Xenophon, appears evident, irrespective of other indications, from the fact that in describing his residence at Scyllus, 5, 3, 10, he speaks of sons that were already grown up, while in 7, 6, 34, he implies that he still had no children.

(Mor. p. 345. e.). Perhaps also he wished to avoid giving offence to certain Spartans of distinction, whose conduct he does not approve of. cf. 7, 1, 2, & 7, 2, 6, where he speaks of Anaxibius; also 7, 2, 7 & 12, et seqq., where he speaks of Aristarchus.

§ 7. If we inquire after the sources whence Xenophon drew the materials for the *Anabasis*, we shall find the first and most important to have been his own personal recollections, or rather his own journal: for it is necessary to assume the existence of such a journal as the foundation of the work, since no memory would have been adequate to retain so many particulars, the geographical and statistical notices, especially the many numerical statements and other things of the kind.\* In the present form of the work, we may imagine that the discursive and irregular character of the original journal is still perceptible. Whether Xenophon resorted to other sources of information, can, with a single exception, neither be affirmed nor denied. True, another account of the expedition by Sophænetus (without doubt the general of this name often mentioned by Xenophon), is said to have been written; and from this, the historian Ephorus, and from him again Diodorus seem to have taken their representation. It is remarkable that in the narrative of Sophænetus, the name of Xenophon first appears in connection with the difficulties in Thrace. From a comparison of Diodorus with Xenophon, there is no

\* This journal must certainly have contained the distances between the places, or at least the number of marches and some indication whether they were longer or shorter. (The number of parasangs is often too great, as in 1, 2, 5, being given on the assumption that five is an ordinary day's march.) This journal must have contained also some geographical notices, the correctness of which has been generally confirmed by modern researches. It cannot however have been very full, since mistakes occur even near the beginning of the work (cf. note 1, 2, 23.) The journal seems also to terminate on the arrival of the Greeks near the country of the Carduchians. The march through Armenia and thence homeward, is almost entirely described from memory. (Kiepert.)

evidence that the latter had the work of Sophænetus before him. In a single passage (1, 8, 26), Xenophon refers to Ctesias. This man, a Greek from Cnidus in Caria, resided a long time at the Persian court as royal physician, and after his return home in 399 B. C. wrote a work consisting of twenty-three books, entitled *Ἱστορίαι*, of which we now have only the extracts in Photius and certain fragments.

§ 8. The scene of the events described in the *Anabasis* is for the most part the Persian empire. Darius II, the ninth king since the founding of the empire by Cyrus, died in the year 404 B. C. He was succeeded by his eldest son Arsakes, under the name Artaxerxes (i. e. according to Herod, 6, 98, *μέγας ἀρῆιος*, *great warrior*). His younger brother Cyrus claimed however to be the rightful heir to the throne, because Arsakes was born while Darius was still in private life, and because he himself was the first-born after Darius became king. Cyrus and his mother Parysatis (i. e. child of a Peri, Fairy-child), by whom he was supported in his claims, were able to appeal to the example of Xerxes, who was preferred to his older brothers because they were born before their father Darius Hystaspis ascended the throne. Well might Cyrus with the consciousness of his right and of his own kingly qualities, cherish the thought of gaining the ascendancy. This thought first became a purpose, when Tissaphernes, satrap of Caria, although he had been treated in a friendly manner by Cyrus, accused him of plotting against the king, so that Cyrus was apprehended, and was rescued from death only by the entreaties of his mother. After this occurrence, immediately on his return to Asia Minor, he commenced the preparations for carrying his purpose into execution. He had been first sent to Asia Minor by his father in the year 407 B. C. having the rank of Karanos or commander in chief of all the royal forces which were stationed between the river Halys and the *Ægean* sea. While occupying this position, he had actively supported the Spartans against the Athenians, perhaps with

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ  
ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

---

BOOK I.

Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο, 1  
πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ  
βίου, ἐβούλετο τῷ παῖδι ἀμφοτέρω παρῆναι. ὁ μὲν 2  
οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγγανε· Κύρον δὲ μετα-  
πέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε,  
καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς  
Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύ-  
ρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν  
Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελείτῃσε Δαρείος, καὶ 3  
κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης  
διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς ἐπιβου-  
λεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κύρον  
ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀπο-  
πέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κιν- 4  
δυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται, ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι  
ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει  
αὐτ' ἐκεῖνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ  
Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρ-  
ταξέρξη. ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως 5  
πρὸς αὐτόν, πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο, ὥστε

αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ 6 εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνους ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἴωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομέναι, τότε δ' ἀφεστήκεσαν 7 πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλὴν Μιλήτου. ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευόμενος, ἀποστήναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις 8 ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα. πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνης ἐτίγγχανεν ἔχων. 9 ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τοῦτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικούς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ

ᾠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλ-  
 λοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλη-  
 σποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφό-  
 μενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. Ἀρίστιππος δὲ 10  
 ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκοὶ ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κύρον,  
 καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν  
 μισθόν, ὡς οὕτω περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν.  
 ὁ δὲ Κύρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἄξ  
 μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλύσαι  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευέση-  
 ται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλῇ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ  
 τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον 11  
 ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλεί-  
 στους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εἰς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρα-  
 τεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ  
 ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ  
 Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιοῖον, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς  
 πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλη-  
 σίων. καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως οὗτοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν 2  
 πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν  
 παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τού-  
 τος τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα  
 στράτευμα· καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι  
 ἦκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα, καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ  
 συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκοὶ ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
 ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα, καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ  
 προσστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἦκειν παραγ-  
 γέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας πλὴν ὅποσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν  
 τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς 2  
 Μίλητον πολιορκούντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε  
 σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς



- καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπειθοῦτο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα
- 3 παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλούς· Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον
- 4 στρατενομένων. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγήσαμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἵππείας ἔχων ὡς
- 5 πεντακοσίους. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρασκευάζετο.
- Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων οὐδ' εἴρηκα ὥρμάτο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμόν. τοῦτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξευγμένη
- 6 πλοίοις ἐπτά. τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ, εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας
- 7 καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ποταμός·

αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασι- 8  
 λέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς  
 τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον·  
 τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πο-  
 δῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν,  
 νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμά-  
 σαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποτα-  
 μὸς καλεῖται Μαρσύας. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς 9  
 Ἑλλάδος ἡγηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκο-  
 δομήσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν  
 ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα·  
 καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων  
 ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους  
 καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίας  
 παρὴν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους καὶ  
 Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐν-  
 ταῦθα Κύρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες  
 ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, 10  
 παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐν-  
 ταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς  
 τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν  
 στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα,  
 εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς  
 τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, 11  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίου, πόλιν  
 οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν,  
 καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλ-  
 πίδας λέγων διῆγε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν

- 12 πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρον· καὶ ἐλέγето Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγето
- 13 δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην· ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἶνῳ κεράσας
- 14 αὐτήν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυριάειαν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ. βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
- 15 καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ
- 16 μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλαντον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμα μάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικικοὺς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμ-
- 17 μένας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, πέμψας Πύρρητα τὸν ἐρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάττον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου

δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς,  
 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ τε 18  
 Κίλισσα ἐφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγο-  
 ρᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἐφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες  
 σὺν γέλῳτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα  
 ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 ματος ἐθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἦσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει 19  
 σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς  
 Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε,  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε  
 διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. ἐντεῦ- 20  
 θεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει  
 τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν, καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας  
 οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρα-  
 σάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην,  
 μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς·  
 ἐν ᾧ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην,  
 φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων  
 δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. ἐντεῦθεν 21  
 ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ  
 ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν  
 στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Σύνενσεις  
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἔκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ὃ  
 ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγ-  
 γελος λέγων, ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Σύνενσεις τὰ ἄκρα,  
 ἐπεὶ ἦσθητο, ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στρατεύμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλι-  
 κίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἦκουε περι-  
 πλεούσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη 22  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς,  
 οὗ οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς

- πεδίων μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντο-  
 दाπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων. πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον  
 καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει.  
 ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ  
 23 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ  
 πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμούς τέτταρας, παρασύγγας πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην  
 καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία  
 τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ  
 24 ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. ταύτην  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς  
 χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχον-  
 τες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες  
 25 ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς. Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος  
 γυνὴ πρότερα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφί-  
 κετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου  
 δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ  
 μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπήναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλι-  
 κῶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν  
 τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους  
 26 ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται. οἱ δ'  
 ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἦκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπα-  
 σαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι,  
 καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆ-  
 λασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετεπέμπετο τὸν Σύνενης πρὸς  
 ἑαυτόν· ὃ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ  
 εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἔφη οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵεναι ἤθελε,  
 27 πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστει εἴλαβε. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Σύνενης μὲν  
 ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος  
 δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵπ-  
 πον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια  
 καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν  
 χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδρά-  
 ποδα, ἣν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκο- 3  
 σιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεναι τοῦ πρόσω·  
 ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἵεναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτον δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς  
 αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἵεναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλ-  
 λον καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐεναι·  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τὸ μὴ κατα- 2  
 πετρωθῆναι· ὕστερον δ', ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται  
 βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιω-  
 τῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολλὸν χρόνον ἐστώς·  
 οἱ δὲ ὀρώντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων· εἶτα ἔλεξε  
 τοιαύδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θανμάζετε, ὅτι χαλε- 3  
 πῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος  
 ξένος ἐγένετο, καί με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τά τε  
 ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὗς ἐγὼ  
 λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθη-  
 δυπάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔδαπάνων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν 4  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς  
 ἐξελαύνων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας  
 Ἑλληνας τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν  
 ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα, εἰ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν  
 ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βοῦ- 5  
 λεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα  
 τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευδόμενον  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἵεναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα,  
 αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὅ, τι ἂν δέη πεί-  
 σομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὥς ἐγὼ Ἑλληνας ἀγα-  
 γῶν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τῇ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίᾳ ἐιλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ 6  
 οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψο-  
 μαι καὶ ὅ, τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ  
 εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπου ἂν ᾖ, ὑμῶν δὲ

- ἔρημος ὣν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὗτ' ἂν φίλον  
 ὠφελῆσαι οὗτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι· ὥς ἐμοῦ οὖν  
 ἰόντος ὅποι ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.
- 7 ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ  
 βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ  
 Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ  
 τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.
- 8 Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμ-  
 πετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα  
 δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρ-  
 ρεῖν, ὥς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μετα-  
 πέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι.
- 9 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας  
 καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βου-  
 λόμενον ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ  
 ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνους· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρα-  
 τιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπρόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι
- 10 ἡμῖν μισθοδότης· ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ'  
 ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω  
 ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυνόμενος, ὅτι σύννοδα  
 ἐμαντῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιώς  
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὣν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆ-
- 11 σθαι· ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν  
 οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι ὃ, τι χρὴ  
 ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων· καὶ ἕως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον  
 μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μενοῦμεν, εἴ τε  
 ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ  
 ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε
- 12 στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὕφελος οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ  
 πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος φ' ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος  
 δ' ἐχθρὸς φ' ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ· ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν  
 καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρώμεν τε

καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι·) ὥστε ὧρα λέγειν ὅ, τι τις γινώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι· ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο· ἐκ δὲ τούτου 13 ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγὼ γινώσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες, οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπικένοι· (εἰς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν 14 ὥς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγούς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὥς τάχιστα,) εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὥς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρου, ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφμένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρηπακότες· οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσούτον· Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην 15 τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὥς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλησθε πείσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων· μετὰ τούτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν 16 τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὥς εὖηθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου, ὃ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ὃ ἂν Κύρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖν 17 μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δόλη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὃ ἂν δολῇ ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ



καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ἃ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπέιθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα

3 παρήσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρὴν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον

4 στρατευομένων. οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὡς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς

5 πεντακοσίους. καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὥρμητο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμόν. τοῦτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξευγμένη

6 πλοίοις ἐπτά. τοῦτον διαβάς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ, εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας

7 καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευνεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὁπότε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ρεῖ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ποταμός·

αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασι- 8  
 λέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς  
 τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ  
 οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον·  
 τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πο-  
 δῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσίαν,  
 νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμά-  
 σαι ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποτα-  
 μὸς καλεῖται Μαρσίας. ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς 9  
 Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκο-  
 δομήσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν  
 ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα·  
 καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων  
 ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους  
 καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίας  
 παρὴν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους καὶ  
 Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐν-  
 ταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες  
 ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι καὶ χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, 10  
 παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐν-  
 ταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς  
 τὰ Λύκαϊα ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν  
 στυλῆγιδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δώδεκα,  
 εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς  
 τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, 11  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν  
 οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν,  
 καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλ-  
 πίδας λέγων διήγε καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν

- 12 πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπον ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως παρὰ Κύρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίους· ἐλέγετο
- 13 δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κύρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην· ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἶνῳ κεράσας
- 14 αὐτήν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, εἰς Τυριάειαν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ. βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
- 15 καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων. εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ
- 16 μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλαντον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἵλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμα- μάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾷ καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμ- μένας. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, πέμψας Πύρρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρήσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλ- πυγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήεσαν. ἐκ δὲ τού- του θᾶπτον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου

δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς,  
 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ ἡ τε 18  
 Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγο-  
 ρᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες  
 σὺν γέλῳ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα  
 ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 ματος ἐθαύμασε. Κύρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει 19  
 σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς  
 Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε,  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε  
 διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς πολεμίαν οὔσαν. ἐντεῦ- 20  
 θεν Κύρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει  
 τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν, καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας  
 οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρα-  
 σάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, πρὸς Δάνα, πόλιν οἰκουμένην,  
 μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς·  
 ἐν ᾧ Κύρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην,  
 φοινικιστὴν βασιλείου, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων  
 δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. ἐντεῦθεν 21  
 ἐπειρώντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ  
 ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν  
 στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις  
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ὃ  
 ἔμεινε ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἀγ-  
 γελος λέγων, ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἷη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα,  
 ἐπεὶ ἥσθητο, ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλι-  
 κίᾳ ἦν εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περι-  
 πλεύσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς  
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κύρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη 22  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς,  
 οὓς οἱ Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαινε εἰς

- πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπ' ἵρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντο-  
 दाπῶν σύμπλεων καὶ ἀμπέλων. πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον  
 καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει.  
 ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ  
 23 θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ  
 πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμούς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσιν, εἰς Ταρσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην  
 καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία  
 τοῦ Κιλικῶν βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ  
 24 ποταμὸς Κῦδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. ταύτην  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συεννέσιος εἰς  
 χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχον-  
 τες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες  
 25 ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς. Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συεννέσιος  
 γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφί-  
 κετο. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρῶν τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου  
 δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ  
 μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλι-  
 κων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν  
 τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους  
 26 ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται. οἱ δ'  
 ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἤκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπα-  
 σαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι,  
 καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆ-  
 λασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συέννεσιν πρὸς  
 ἑαυτόν· ὃ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ  
 εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν ἔφη οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵεναι ἤθελε,  
 27 πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Σύνεννεσις μὲν  
 ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος  
 δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἔπ-  
 που χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια  
 καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν  
 χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδρά-  
 ποδα, ἣν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκο- 3  
 σιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω·  
 ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτον δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς  
 αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλ-  
 λον καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προϊέναι·  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τὸ μὴ κατα- 2  
 πετρωθῆναι· ὕστερον δ', ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται  
 βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιω-  
 τῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολλὴν χρόνον ἐστῶς·  
 οἱ δὲ ὀρώντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων· εἶτα ἔλεξε  
 τοιάδε. Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θανμάζετε, ὅτι χαλε- 3  
 πῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος  
 ξένος ἐγένετο, καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τά τε  
 ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὗς ἐγὼ  
 λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθη-  
 δυπάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν 4  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς  
 ἐξελαύνων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας  
 Ἑλληνας τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν  
 ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα, εἴ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελοῖν αὐτὸν  
 ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βού- 5  
 λεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα  
 τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσάμενον  
 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἰέναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα,  
 αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὅ, τι ἂν δέη πεί-  
 σομαι. καὶ οὔποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὥς ἐγὼ Ἑλληνας ἀγα-  
 γὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὴν  
 τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ 6  
 οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι οὐδὲ ἔπεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔφο-  
 μαι καὶ ὅ, τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ  
 εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπου ἂν ᾖ, ὑμῶν δὲ

- ἔρημος ὣν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι οὐτ' ἂν φίλον  
 ὠφελῆσαι οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι· ὥς ἐμοῦ οὖν  
 ἰόντος ὅποι ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.
- 7 ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου  
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ  
 βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ  
 Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ  
 τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ.
- 8 Κύρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμ-  
 πετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἤθελε, λάθρα  
 δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρ-  
 ρεῖν, ὥς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μετα-  
 πέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι.
- 9 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας  
 καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βου-  
 λόμενον ἔλεξε τοιάδε. "Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 Κύρου δηλὸν ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ  
 ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρα-  
 τιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκείνος ἔτι
- 10 ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ'  
 ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω  
 ἔλθειν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυρόμενος, ὅτι σύνοιδα  
 ἐμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς  
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὣν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆ-
- 11 σθαι. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν  
 οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι ὃ, τι χρὴ  
 ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἕως τε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον  
 μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μενούμεν, εἴ τε  
 ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ  
 ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε
- 12 στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ  
 πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ᾧ ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος  
 δ' ἐχθρὸς ᾧ ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ. ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν  
 καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὁρῶμέν τε

καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι·) ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὃ, τι τις γυγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι· ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 13 ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέγοντες ἃ ἐγὼ γινώσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες, οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. (εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν 14 ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, στρατηγούς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα,) εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεα ἀγοράζεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἀγορὰ ἦν ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον, ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληφόμενους τὰ ἄκρα, ὥπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τούτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον. Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσουντα ἐμὲ ταύτην 15 τὴν στρατηγίαν μὴδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνομῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλθῃ πεῖσομαι ἢ δυνατὸν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὡς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. μετὰ τούτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν 16 τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὖηθες εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου, ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύομεν ᾧ ἂν Κύρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁκνοῖν 17 μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσῃ, φοβομένην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ᾧ ἂν δοίη ἔπεσθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ ὅθεν οὐχ



- οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξελεῖν, βουλομένη δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπὼν  
Κύρον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν.
- 15 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι  
ἀγέρως ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον οἷτινες ἐπιτήδεια συν  
Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι·  
καὶ εἰ μὲν ἢ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἷα περ καὶ πρό-  
στιεν ἐχρήτε τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ
- 20 κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· εἰ μὲν  
δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται καὶ ἐπι-  
πονητέρα καὶ ἐκινδυνυτέρα, ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς  
ἄγειν ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φίλων ἀφίεναι· (οὕτω γὰρ  
καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα  
καὶ ἀπίοντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίομεν) ὃ, τι δ' ἂν πρὸς  
ταῦτα λέγῃ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας
- 25 πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι· ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας  
ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον  
τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ἀκούοι  
Ἀβροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ  
εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν  
ἔφη βουλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη  
χρηῖζεν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, ἣν δὲ φεύγῃ, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς
- 30 ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοὶ  
ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν  
ἦν, ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἔδοκε ἔπεσθαι.  
προσαιτούσι δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιό-  
λιον πᾶσι δώσειν οὐ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ  
τρία ἡμιδαρεικά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ  
βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἔν γε τῷ  
φανερῷ.
- 4 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας  
δέκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία  
πλέθρα· ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμόν ἕνα, παρασάγγας  
πέντε, ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον.  
ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας πεντε-

καῖδεκα, εἰς Ἰσσοὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν,  
 ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα.  
 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ 2  
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ'  
 αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγεῖτο δ'  
 αὐτῶν Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναὺς ἑτέρας  
 Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτι  
 Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς  
 αὐτόν. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ 3  
 τῶν νεῶν, μετὰπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων  
 ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὤρ-  
 μουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνὴν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ'  
 Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον  
 παρὰ Κύρον, τετρακόσιοι ὀπλῖται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο  
 ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρα- 4  
 σάγγας πέντε, ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας.  
 ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξωθεν τὸ πρὸ  
 τῆς Κιλικίας Σύνεννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακή· τὸ  
 δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακὴ  
 φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ρεῖ τοῦτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος  
 ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τευχῶν  
 ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ· ἦν γὰρ  
 ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθή-  
 κοντα, ὑπερθεν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς  
 τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν ἑπτά πύλαι. ταύτης 5  
 ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναὺς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως  
 ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ  
 βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κύρος  
 τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στράτευμα. Ἀβροκόμας  
 δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κύρον ἐν Κιλι-  
 κίᾳ ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπή-  
 λαυεν, ἔχων, ὥς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.  
 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας 6

πέντε, εἰς Μυριάνδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινί-  
 κων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ  
 ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν  
 7 ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκάς, στρατηγός, καὶ  
 Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλεί-  
 στου ἄξια ἐνθήμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὥς μὲν τοῖς πλεί-  
 στοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες, ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὥς ἀπιόντας  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα, εἶα Κύ-  
 ρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε  
 λόγος, ὅτι διώκει αὐτοὺς Κύρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 8 εὔχοντο ὡς δολίους ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ'  
 ὦκτειρον, εἰ ἀλώσονται. Κύρος δὲ συνκαλέσας τοὺς  
 στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· Ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ  
 Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι οὔτε  
 ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπῃ οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀπο-  
 πεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων  
 πλοῖον. ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω,  
 οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγώ, ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις, χρώμαι,  
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἰόντων,  
 εἰδότες, ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκε-  
 νους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν  
 Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσου-  
 9 νται, ἀλλ' ἀπολήψονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμέ  
 ἀρετῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ  
 τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες  
 τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἡδίων καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπο-  
 ρεύντο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας,  
 παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ  
 εὖρος πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πρᾶκων,  
 οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, οὐδὲ  
 τὰς περιστεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυ-

σάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομένα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει 10  
 σταθμούς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, ἐπὶ τὰς πη-  
 γὰς τοῦ Δαράδακος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου.  
 ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσους βασιλεια τοῦ Συρίας  
 ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων  
 πάντα, ὅσα ὦραι φύουσι· Κύρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε  
 καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει στα- 11  
 θμούς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐ-  
 φράτην ποταμόν, ὅντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων·  
 καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάφα-  
 κος ὀνόματι. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ  
 Κύρος μεταπεμφόμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλή-  
 νων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν  
 εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπεῖθειν ἔπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ποιή- 12  
 σαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶ-  
 ται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς  
 πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεναι,  
 ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς προ-  
 τέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ  
 Κύρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦν-  
 τος τοῦ πατρὸς Κύρου. ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ 13  
 ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν  
 πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤκωσι, καὶ  
 τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῇ μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ  
 οὕτως ἐπείσθη. Μένων δὲ πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, τί ποιή-  
 σουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον ἔφονται Κύρῳ  
 ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων  
 καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. Ἄνδρες, ἐάν μοι πεισθῆτε, οὔτε κιν- 14  
 δυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλεον προτι-  
 μήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω  
 ποιῆσαι; νῦν δέεται Κύρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν

Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, ὃ, τι οἱ ἄλλοι  
 15 Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφί-  
 σονται ἐπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ  
 διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν χάριν  
 εἴσεται Κύρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· (ἐπίσταται δ' εἰ τις καὶ  
 ἄλλος) ἦν δ' ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπμμεν μὲν  
 ἅπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις  
 πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχα-  
 γίας, καὶ ἄλλου οὐτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλου

16 τεύξεσθε Κύρου. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπείθοντο καὶ  
 διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κύρος δ'  
 ἐπεὶ ᾗσθητο διαβεβηκότας, ᾗσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ᾗδη  
 ὑμᾶς ἐπαινώ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ

17 μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κύρον νομίζετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρα-  
 τιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυ-  
 χῆσαι. Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγα-  
 λοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν· καὶ τῶν διαβαί-  
 νόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν

18 μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ Θαψακηνοὶ ἔλεγον,  
 ὅτι οὐπώποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ,  
 εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις· ἂ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖων  
 κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον  
 εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς

19 βασιλεύουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας  
 σταθμοὺς ἐννέα, παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀφι-  
 κνύονται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν  
 κῶμαι πολλαὶ μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμει-  
 ναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

15 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸν Εὐφρά-  
 την ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε,  
 παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ  
 τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδῖον ἅπαν ὁμαλόν, ὥσπερ

θάλαττα, ἀφινθίου δὲ πλήρες· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὴν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη, ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνὴν. θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλείστοι μὲν 2 ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ ὠτίδες καὶ δορκάδες. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵππων ἔτρεχον θάττον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτόν ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς θηρῶεν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες 3 τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπεσπᾶτο φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, αἵρουσα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνιστῇ, ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχύ, ὥσπερ τέρδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν 4 ἴδιστα ἦν. πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεοιαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' ὑτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρέιτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα ἴκλω. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. τεύθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, 5 κρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα, τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ξίᾳ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας. ἐν τούτοις σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χώρος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες ὄνους τας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες εἰς ζυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες σίτον· τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σίτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι 6 ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγορᾷ ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρ- κῶ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων ων. ὁ δὲ σύγλος δύναται ἐπτα ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιω-

- βόλιον Ἀττικοῦς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίρικας Ἀττικὰς  
 ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο.  
 7 ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὗς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλανυνεν,  
 ὅποτε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἡ πρὸς χιλόν.  
 καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς  
 ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις, καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν  
 καὶ Πιγήρητα λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συν-  
 8 εκβιβάξειν τὰς ἀμάξας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχο-  
 λαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν  
 Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεύσαι τὰς ἀμάξας.  
 ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ρίψαν-  
 τες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κἀνδύς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος  
 ἐστηκώς, ἔεντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ  
 μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς  
 πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας,  
 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια  
 περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθύς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες  
 9 ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦ-  
 ρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων  
 ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἔνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου  
 ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θάττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ  
 ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχο-  
 λαϊότερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ  
 στρατεύμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν  
 νοῦν ἢ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώ-  
 πων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ  
 διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων  
 10 τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποτα-  
 μοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων  
 καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη. ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται ἡγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαις διαβαίνοντες  
 ὠδε. διφθέρας, ἃς εἶχον σκεπάσματα, ἐπίμπλασαν

συν-  
 βιβά-  
 ζειν

Δεῦν

χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνήγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ  
 ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον  
 καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἷνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου  
 πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτου μελίνης·  
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον. ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ 11  
 τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 τοῦ Κλεάρχου ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μέ-  
 νωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ  
 τράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχα-  
 λέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. τῇ δέ 12  
 αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ πο-  
 αμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφιππεύει  
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος  
 ὃν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κύρος δὲ οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐ προσήλυνεν· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα  
 ζίζων τις ὥς εἶδε τὸν Κλεάρχον διελαύνοντα, ἦισι τῇ 13  
 ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἡμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ  
 ἢ ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης. ὁ δὲ κατα-  
 ὕγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγ-  
 λλει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ  
 λευσε μεῖναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας,  
 ὃς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς θρᾶκας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς, οἳ ἦσαν  
 ὧν ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα,  
 τῶν δὲ οἱ πλείστοι θρᾶκες, ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μέ-  
 νων, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα,  
 τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦν-  
 τῷ πράγματι. ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχεν γὰρ ὕστερος 14  
 γιῶν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς  
 εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
 οὐ τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχάλε-  
 ζεν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι  
 οὐ λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐξίστασθαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κύρος καὶ 15  
 οὐ τοῦ πράγματος· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλὰ εἰς

μετακίνητος



- τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν  
 16 ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. Κλέαρχε καὶ  
 Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε  
 ὃ, τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε,  
 νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόψεσθαι  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι  
 πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων.  
 17 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ  
 παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.  
 6 Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνια ἵππων καὶ  
 κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵπ-  
 πων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο  
 χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὀρόντης δέ, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε  
 προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀρίστοις Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν  
 2 πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεῖς δέ. οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ  
 αὐτῷ δοῖη ἵππεας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας  
 ἵππεας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς  
 αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καλεῖν ἐπιόντας, καὶ  
 ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ  
 Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ  
 ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευεν  
 αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.  
 3 ὁ δ' Ὀρόντης, νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἵπ-  
 πεάς, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἥξοι ἔχων  
 ἵππεῖς ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχε-  
 σθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας  
 ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δι-  
 δωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρί, ὡς ᾔετο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδω-  
 4 σιν. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόν-  
 την, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς  
 ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

20.100.100.100

στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέ-  
 σθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. Κλέαρ 5  
 χον δὲ καὶ εἰσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς γε καὶ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν  
 κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν.  
 φη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. Παρεκάλεσα 6  
 μᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὃ, τι  
 καίον ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο  
 ράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον  
 ἐν ὃ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἐχθεῖς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος  
 πολέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ  
 ὡ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ  
 ὃ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον  
 ὃ ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἐστὶν ὃ, τι σέ 7  
 ἔκησα ; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἡρώτα,  
 κοῦν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 κούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν  
 ἐν χώραν ὃ, τι ἐδύνω ; ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Οὐκοῦν,  
 ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὐ ἐγνων τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν,  
 ὡν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ  
 ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι.  
 ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὡμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντης.  
 νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον 8  
 βουλευέων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας ; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ  
 Ὀρόντου ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς ἡρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν,  
 ὡμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι ; Ἡ γὰρ  
 ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἡρώτησεν  
 ὁ Κῦρος, Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος,  
 δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός ; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ  
 μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. πρὸς 9  
 τὸν Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παρούσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα

- μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος,  
 ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὅ, τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρ-  
 χος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλευῶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον  
 ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέη τοῦτον  
 φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολῇ ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι  
 10 τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. ταύτῃ δὲ  
 τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ  
 ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόν-  
 την ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς·  
 εἶτα δὲ ἐξήγουν αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἔπει δὲ εἶδον  
 αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύ-  
 11 νησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. ἔπει  
 δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη τοῦ πιστοτά-  
 του τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα  
 Ὀρόντην οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως  
 ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἵκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως·  
 τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.
- 7 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς  
 τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ  
 Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς  
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι  
 μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ  
 κέρως ἡγείσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύ-  
 2 μου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέ-  
 τασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ  
 μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασι-  
 λέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλευέτο τε,  
 πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύ-  
 3 νων τοιάδε. ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομί-  
 ζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς  
 εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες

ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἥς κέκτησθε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ  
 εὐδαιμονίζω. εὐ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην  
 ἢ ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίονα.  
 ἵπῳ δὲ καὶ εἰδήτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς 4  
 ἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγὴ  
 πολλὴ ἐπίαςιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ  
 ἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ, οἷον ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
 ὥρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ  
 ἰτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἵκαδε βουλό-  
 ενον ἀπικέαι τοῖς οἴκοι ζῆλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν,  
 ἄλλοι δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσιν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ  
 τῶν οἴκοι. ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρών, φυγὰς Σάμιος, 5  
 στὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὲν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες,  
 ἢ πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ  
 δύνου προσιόντος· ἂν δὲ εὐ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσθαι  
 φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ', εἰ μεμνῶ τε καὶ βούλοιο  
 ἰασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ. ἀκούσας ταῦτα 6  
 ἔξεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ  
 ἀτρώα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ  
 ανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὐ διὰ  
 λῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπέουσιν  
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, 7  
 εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιή-  
 ῳστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ, τι δῶ  
 τῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω  
 οὐς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον  
 τῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ 8  
 σαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελ-  
 εῖσῃεσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν  
 ἢν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀξιούντες εἰδέναι, τί σφισιν  
 ἢ, εἰάν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν  
 ἦν ἀπέπεμπε. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες, 9  
 ἢερ διελέγοντο, μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἑαυτῶν  
 σθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὠδέ πως

- ἤρετο τὸν Κύρον· Οἶε γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, ἐμός δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ
- 10 ἀμαχεῖ ταύτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες
- 11 καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ
- 12 πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως
- 13 πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας τρεῖς, συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾗετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυιαὶ
- 14 πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος, ὀργυιαὶ τρεῖς. παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. [ἔνθα δὴ εἰσιν αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσai· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρα-

σάγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν.] ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐ- 16  
φράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς  
τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος· ταύτην δὲ τὴν  
τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ  
γυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν 17  
τάφρον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλθε καὶ ἐγέν-  
υτο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. ταύτη μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ  
μαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερά ἦσαν  
αἱ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος 18  
ἱλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν  
τῷ δαρεϊκοῦς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκε-  
ῖς τῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον θνόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι  
ισιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν,  
ὅκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς  
ἐραῖς· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνουμαί σοι δέκα  
λαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ  
ρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῃ οὐκ 19  
ἴλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν,  
ξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωσκέναι τοῦ μά-  
θαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελη-  
ως μᾶλλον. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθή- 20  
ως τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων  
αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπο-  
το καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ  
ξῶν ἤγοντο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν καὶ πλη- 8  
ῆν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύνειν, ἡνίκα  
ηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν,  
βαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδρύνει τῷ ἵππῳ,  
ὕθυς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς  
ἁλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ  
έρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. ἔνθα 2  
ἁλὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλ-  
καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι.

- 3 Καὶ Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδου καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν
- 4 ἕκαστον. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτου, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον
- 5 κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
- 6 βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι ὀπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου. Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν
- 7 τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον
- 8 δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγίνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ
- 9 αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν, Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται· πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο
- 10 πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα

ἐκ τῶν ἀζώνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δι-  
 βροῖς εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτ' ἐντυχάνοιεν.  
 ἢ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλῶντα  
 καὶ διακόψοντα. ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας 11  
 παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβά-  
 των ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγὴ ἀλλὰ  
 ἰγῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσ-  
 εσαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν 12  
 [ἰγρητὶ τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ  
 λεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν  
 πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶη· καὶ τούτ', ἔφη, νικῶ-  
 ν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποίηται. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ 13  
 ἴσον στῆφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ [Ἑλλη-  
 κοῦ] εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ πληθεῖ περιῆν  
 σιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου  
 οὐνύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν  
 οσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβού-  
 ῖος μὴ κυκλωθεὶ ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο  
 αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ 14  
 ῥῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προΐει,  
 δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο  
 τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ  
 ν πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεάτο ἐκατέρωσε  
 βλέπων εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους.  
 ἢ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, 15  
 λᾶσας ὡς συναντήσαι ἤρετο, εἰ τι παραγγέλλοι.  
 ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐρὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων 16  
 ἴβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο,  
 ἢ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸ σύν-  
ταξι παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὅς ἐθαύμασε, τίς  
γγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ, τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ'  
 ρίνατο ὅτι Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος 17  
 τας, Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.



- βόλιον Ἀττικούς· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίωντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο.
- 7 ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὗς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλανυν, ὁπότε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιο διατελέσαι ἡ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου ἐπέστη ὁ Κύρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις, καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγηρτα λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συν-
- 8 εκβιβάξειν τὰς ἀμάξας. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεύσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ρίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδύς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστηκώς, ἔντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοὺς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θάττον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ᾤετο μετεώρους
- 9 ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κύρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θάττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιότερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον συναγείρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἡ βασιλέως ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενής, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων
- 10 τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιεῖτο. πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη. ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἡγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαίς διαβαίνοντες ᾧδε. διφθέρας, ἃς εἶχον σκεπάσματα, ἐπίμπλασαν

concordance

Am

χόρτου κούφου, εἶτα συνήγουν καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ἵπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἷόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου γεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτου μελίνης· οὗτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον. ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ 11  
ι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ Κλεάρχου ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγᾶς ἐνέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ γράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἔχα-  
ίπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. τῇ δέ 12  
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ πο-  
μοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκηφάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφιππεύει  
ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος  
οὐδὲν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κύρος δὲ οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ'  
προσήλανε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα  
ἔζον τις ὥς εἶδε τὸν Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἤσισι τῇ  
νῇ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ  
ἄλλος, εἶτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης. ὁ δὲ κατα- 13  
γγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγ-  
λει εἰς τὰ ὄπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ  
λευσε μέναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας,  
ὡς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς, οἳ ἦσαν  
ὁ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα,  
ὧν δὲ οἱ πλείστοι Θρᾷκες, ἤλανε ἐπὶ τοὺς Μέ-  
ς, ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐκπεπλήχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα,  
τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀπορού-  
ντων πράγματι. ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος, ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος 14  
τῶν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, εὐθὺς  
εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ  
τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' ἐχαλέ-  
ν, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι  
ς λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ  
ἐξίστασθαι. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κύρος καὶ 15  
το τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ' ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς

οὐδὲν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν

- τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παρούσι τῶν πιστῶν ἤκεν  
 16 ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. Κλέαρχε καὶ  
 Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε  
 ὃ, τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε,  
 νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κατακεκόφεσθαι  
 καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἐμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν  
 ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὓς ὁράτε βάρβαροι  
 πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων.  
 17 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ  
 παυσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.  
 6 Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνια ἵππων καὶ  
 κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δυσχιλίων ἵπ-  
 πων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο  
 χρησίμων ἦν. Ὀρόντης δέ, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε  
 προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀρίστοις Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν  
 2 πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεὶς δέ. οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ  
 αὐτῷ δοῖη ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας  
 ἱππέας ἢ κατακάνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς  
 αὐτῶν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καλεῖν ἐπιόντας, καὶ  
 ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ  
 Κύρου στράτευμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ  
 ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν  
 αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.  
 3 ὁ δ' Ὀρόντης, νομίσας ἐτοίμους εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱπ-  
 πέας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἥξοι ἔχων  
 ἱππεῖς ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἱππεύσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχε-  
 σθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας  
 ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δί-  
 4 δωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς ᾔετο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδω-  
 σιν. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κύρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόν-  
 την, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς  
 ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων

ιτρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέ-  
 γθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. Κλέαρ· 5  
 οὐν δὲ καὶ εἰσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς γε καὶ αὐτῷ  
 αἰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλ-  
 ῆνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν  
 ἰσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν.  
 ἦ δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. Παρεκάλεσα 6  
 ἰας, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὃ, τι  
 καιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο  
 ἰάξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον  
 ν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 χθεῖς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος  
 ἰλέμησεν ἐμοὶ ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ  
 αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ  
 πρὸς ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον  
 ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ, τι σέ 7  
 ἦσα ; ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα,  
 οὐν ὕστερον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ  
 ούμενος ἀποστὰς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν  
 ἰ χώραν ὃ, τι ἐδύνω ; ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Οὐκοῦν,  
 ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότ' αὐ ἐγνώς τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν,  
 ν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ  
 ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι.  
 λαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ ; καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει ὁ Ὀρόντης.  
 ἦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον 8  
 νυλεύω μοι φανερὸς γέγονας ; εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ  
 του ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεῖς ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν,  
 λογεῖς οὐν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι ; Ἦ γὰρ  
 ἦ, ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν  
 ος, Ἔτι οὐν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος,  
 ἰὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός ; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ  
 ἦν, ὦ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. πρὸς 9  
 Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν, Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα

- μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος,  
 ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ, τι σοι δοκεῖ. Κλέαρ-  
 χος δὲ εἶπε τάδε. Συμβουλευῶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον  
 ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα, ὡς μηκέτι δέη τοῦτον  
 φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι  
 10 τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς φίλους τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν. ταύτῃ δὲ  
 τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ  
 ταῦτα κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόν-  
 την ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες, καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς·  
 εἶτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. (ἔπει δὲ εἶδον  
 αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύ-  
 11 νησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο.) ἔπει  
 δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηπὴν εἰσήχθη τοῦ πιστοτά-  
 του τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα  
 Ὀρόντην οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως  
 ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἵκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως·  
 τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.  
 7 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς  
 τρεῖς, παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ  
 Κύρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· (ἔδόκει γὰρ εἰς  
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι  
 μαχομένον·) καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ  
 κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύ-  
 2 μου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέ-  
 τασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ  
 μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασι-  
 λέως στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλευέτο τε,  
 πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύν-  
 3 νων τοιάδε. Ὡς ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομί-  
 ζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς  
 εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες

ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἣς κέκτησθε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ  
 εὐδαιμονίζω. εὐ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην  
 ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳ.—  
 ὥπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς 4  
 εἰδῶς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ  
 πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ  
 ἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ, οἷον ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
 ᾧ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους· ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ  
 ὑτόλμων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἵκαδε βουλό-  
 ενον ἀπίεναί τοῖς οἴκοι ζῆλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν,  
 ὁλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσειν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ  
 ὧν οἴκοι. ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρών, φυγὰς Σάμιος, 5  
 ἱστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπε, Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες,  
 ἡ πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ  
 δύνου προσιόντος· ἂν δὲ εὐ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσθαι  
 φασιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ οὐδ', εἰ μεμνῶ τε καὶ βούλοιο  
 γασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ. ἀκούσας ταῦτα 6  
 ἔξεν ὁ Κύρος, Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ  
 ἀτρώα πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ  
 ανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὐ διὰ  
 ὠνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπείουσιν  
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, 7  
 εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῇ-  
 ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὃ, τι δῶ  
 γτῳ τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω  
 οὓς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον  
 τῳ χρυσοῦν δώσω. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ 8  
 σαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελ-  
 εῖσῃσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἳ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν  
 ἡν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι, τί σφισιν  
 ἔαν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν  
 ἡν ἀπέπεμπε. παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες, 9  
 ἔρ διελέγοντο, μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν ἑαυτῶν  
 σθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὠδέ πως

- ἤρετο τὸν Κύρον· Οἶε γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν ; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρεῖον καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ
- 10 ἀμαχεῖ ταύτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἄσπῃς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες
- 11 καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἤρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ
- 12 πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἑνεήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων.
- 13 ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελλον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ
- 14 Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα, παρασάγγας τρεῖς, συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ᾤετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ
- 15 πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος, ὀργυαὶ τρεῖς. παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. [ἔνθα δὴ εἰσιν αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσai· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεί ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρα-

σάγγην, γέφυραι δ' ἔπεισιν.] ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐ- 16  
φράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς  
τάφρου ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὖρος· ταύτην δὲ τὴν  
τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ  
τυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὲ τὴν 17  
τάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρήλθε καὶ ἐγέν-  
ντο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ  
μαχέσαστο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωροῦντων φανερά ἦσαν  
αἱ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος 18  
ἱλαρὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν  
ὑτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκεί-  
ης τῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον θνόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι  
ασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν,  
ὅκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς  
ἑραῖς· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνούμαι σοι δέκα  
ἵλαντα. τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ  
ιρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ 19  
ὕλνε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κῦρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν,  
ἔξε καὶ Κῦρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνωσμένοι τοῦ μά-  
τθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελη-  
ως μᾶλλον. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθή- 20  
ος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων  
αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπο-  
ετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ  
ἔξῳ ἤγοντο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν καὶ πλη- 8  
ῖ ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἐνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἡνίκα  
ηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν,  
φαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ,  
εὐθύς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετίγγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς  
ἐλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ  
έρχεται ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. ἐνθα 2  
ολύς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλ-  
; καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπυσεῖσθαι.



- 3 Καὶ Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδου καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν
- 4 ἕκαστον. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτων, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον
- 5 κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐώνυμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
- 6 βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι ὠπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου. Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν
- 7 τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον
- 8 δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολύ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ
- 9 αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν λευκαθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐώνυμου τῶν πολεμίων. Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδηρέσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν, Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο
- 10 πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα

ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δι-  
 φροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν.  
 ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλώντα  
 καὶ διακόψοντα. ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας 11  
 παρεκελεύετο τοῖς "Ελλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβά-  
 των ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ  
 τυχῇ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσ-  
 ἔσαν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν 12  
 Ἰγέρῃ τῳ ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῳ  
 Κλέαρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν  
 ολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· καὶ τούτ', ἔφη, νικῶ-  
 εν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ 13  
 ἔσον στίφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ [Ἑλλη-  
 κοῦ] εὐνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν  
 ἰσιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου  
 οὐνύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἠθελεν  
 ὀσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβού-  
 νος μὴ κυκλωθεὶς ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο  
 αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ 14  
 ῥῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προῆι,  
 δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο  
 τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ  
 ν πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε  
 βλέπων εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους.  
 ν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, 15  
 λάσας ὡς συναντῆσαι ἤρετο, εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι·  
 ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι καὶ  
 ἐρὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων 16  
 ἴβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο,  
 ὅς οἱ ὁρὺβος εἴη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸ σύν-  
 ν παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὅς ἐθαύμασε, τίς  
 ἡ γυγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ, τι εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ'  
 ρίνατο ὅτι Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος 17  
 τας, Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.

he +

uhs

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- ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τῷ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἥνικα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ
- 18 προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὥς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες, οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα
- 19 ἐδοῦπησαν φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν
- 20 τάξει ἔπεσθαι. τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη [ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ] ἐκπλαγεῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλην ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις
- 21 ἐλέγετο. Κύρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἵππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελείτο, ὃ, τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ᾔδει αὐτὸν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι
- 22 τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἢ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἐν ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα.
- 23 καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἐμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν.

οἰκονομῶν

ἔνθα δὴ Κύρος δέσας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόφη 24  
 τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς  
 ἑξακόσιοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ  
 εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι  
 λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρ-  
 χοντα αὐτῶν. ὥς δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται 25  
 καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες,  
 γλῆν πάνν ὄλγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν  
 ἰ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν καθορᾷ 26  
 βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος· καὶ εὐθύς οὐκ  
 νέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, Τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρώ, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν.  
 καὶ παῖε κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ  
 ὕρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς  
 τραυμὰ φησι. παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλ- 27  
 ῖ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι  
 ἰ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκα-  
 του, ὅποσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον  
 κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς  
 ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο  
 αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν 28  
 ἵππου καὶ δερᾶπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε  
 αὐτὸν, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.  
 οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεύσαι τινα ἐπισφάζειν 29  
 ἢ Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάζασθαι σπασάμενον  
 ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν, καὶ στρεπτόν δὲ  
 εἰ καὶ ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περ-  
 σὲ τετλίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ  
 ὀνητά.

Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περ- 9  
 τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλι-  
 τὸς τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὥς παρὰ πάντων  
 ἡγεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.  
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν 2  
 δελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα

- 3 κράτιστος ἐνομιζέτο. πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περ-  
σῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα  
πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ'  
4 οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκούσαι οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες  
καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ  
ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μαν-  
5 θάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδη-  
μονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι,  
τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων  
μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς  
ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς  
τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φίλο  
6 μαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θη-  
ρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπι-  
φερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλάς  
φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέν-  
7 τοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε  
καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς  
δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ  
πεδίου ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι  
περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῃ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῃ συν-  
8 θοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῃ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ  
γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι,  
ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπει-  
9 παθεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι  
αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κύρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους  
πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλε τοὺς φεύ-  
10 γοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ  
ἐπέδεικνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοίτο, ἐπεὶ  
ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μέλους

γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν· φανερὸς δ' ἦν καὶ 11  
 εἰ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσῃεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώ-  
 μενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχοίτο  
 τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστω νικῆς καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς  
 κακῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι 12  
 δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ  
 χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσέσθαι.  
 οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους 13  
 καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελάειν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων  
 τιμωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβο-  
 ρέας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στε-  
 ομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετα  
 αἱ Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάρῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πο-  
 εῖσθαι ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι δ', τι προχωροῖν  
 οὐ γὰρ μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὁμολόγητο δια- 14  
 ερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος  
 τὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ  
 τὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὐς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυ-  
 νεῖν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἡς κατεστρέφετο  
 ἡ χώρα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλη δώροισι ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαί- 15  
 νεται τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ  
 κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ  
 ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν θελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις  
 ἵκνῃτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἰ 16  
 αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος,  
 ὅτι παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα 17  
 πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι  
 θινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ  
 χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 ἵσταντο κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κῦρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν  
 κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τις γέ τι αὐτῷ 18  
 ἐπτάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσῃεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχά-  
 ρον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ

- ὑπηρεταί παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι·  
 19 εἰ δέ τινα ὀρέῃ δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου  
 καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους  
 ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πάποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω  
 προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως  
 ἐκτῶντο καὶ δ' ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς τις ἥκιστα Κύρον ἐκρυπτεν·  
 οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο,  
 ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων  
 20 χρήμασι. φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὐνους  
 γνοῖν ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ, τι  
 τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς  
 21 πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. καὶ γὰρ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι,  
 ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς  
 φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθά-  
 22 νοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς  
 γε ὦν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλά· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων  
 δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους  
 ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρέῃ ἕκαστον δεό-  
 23 μενον. καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις  
 ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ  
 τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα  
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ  
 καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.  
 24 καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ  
 τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι  
 χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι.  
 25 Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις, ὅποτε  
 πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου  
 τούτου ἡδίονι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε  
 καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα  
 26 φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ  
 ἄρτων ἡμίσεια καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων

τὸν φέροντα· Τούτοις ἦσθη Κύρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ  
 σὲ τοιῶν γεύσασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ 27  
 εἷη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολ-  
 λούς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμ-  
 πων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα  
 ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὥς μὴ  
 πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωνσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε 28  
 πορεύοντο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλὼν  
 τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδασιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖη οὐδὲ τιμῇ  
 ὅστε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων  
 γεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων, τεκμήριον 29  
 ἐ τοῦτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος  
 ὕδεις ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε·  
 καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὑρε-  
 ῖν φίλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ  
 ῥὸς Κύρον ἀπήλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγέ-  
 νοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώ-  
 νοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιοτέρας  
 τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον 30  
 καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο  
 καὶ πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνοὺς καὶ βεβαίους. ἀποθνήσκοντος 31  
 αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντρά-  
 ροι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου·  
 ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ ἄρχων· ὥς δ' ἦσθητο Κύρον πεπτωκότα,  
 γεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν, οὐ ἠγάγετο.  
 Εὐταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεῖρ 10  
 ἑξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσ-  
 ῖει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ  
 τοῦ οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐ-  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν ὤρμητο·  
 ἱερὲς δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ.  
 λεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ 2



- διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαίδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα  
 3 τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ  
 Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα  
 ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς  
 σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς  
 μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν  
 , καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρω-  
 4 ποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλή-  
 λων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια,  
 οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες,  
 5 οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρα-  
 τεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἴη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε  
 Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται,  
 ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας πλησιαί-  
 τatos γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 6 στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος  
 ἦν προσίων πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὅπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλ-  
 ληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντος  
καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἥ δὲ  
 παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγα-  
 γεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.  
 7 ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν,  
 ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκαυε μὲν οὐδένα, δια-  
 στάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς·  
 Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἤρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ  
 8 ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς  
 μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς  
 δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ

with view

Amphipolis

τυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι  
 ρεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλ- 9  
 ῶν κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς  
 κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατα-  
 ρειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ  
 ἡσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα 10  
 υλεῖοντο καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ  
 ὁ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ  
 πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνῆει. ὥς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλ-  
 λες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις  
 κανίσαντες ἐπήρσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ  
 ὄσθεν. οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ 11  
 ἑοῦς ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι  
 τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ 12  
 τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνестράφησαν οἱ  
 πρὸ βασιλείας, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἵππέων ὁ  
 ὄρος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γινώσκειν.  
 τὸ βασιλεῖον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ πέλτης [ἐπὶ ξύλου] ἀνατεταμένον. ἐπεὶ 13  
 καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ  
 λόφον οἱ ἵππεις· οὐ μὲν ἔτι ἀθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι  
ἄλλοι ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἵππέων· τέλος δὲ  
 πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβί- 14  
 ζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ  
 πνεῦμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον  
 τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 οὐ τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε 15  
 ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχε-  
 δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύνετο. ἐνταῦθα δ' 16  
 ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο·  
 ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο  
 ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ἤδεσαν  
 ὅν τεθηγκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ  
 ἀληφόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβου- 17

οἱ Ἕλληνες

οἱ Ἕλληνες

- 3 Καὶ Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνέδου καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν
- 4 ἕκαστον. ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτων, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον
- 5 κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεις μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο
- 6 βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεις τούτου ὅσον ἑξακόσιοι ὦπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίοις καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλην Κύρου. Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν
- 7 τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν. οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Κύρου εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον
- 8 δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεις Ἑλληνικάς. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἡνίκα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ
- 9 αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ ἦσαν ἵππεις μὲν λευκαθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρηνς ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γερροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδῆρεσι ξυλλίταις ἀσπίσιν, Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἵππεις, ἄλλοι τοξόται πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο·
- 10 πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἄλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα

ὧν ἀξίωνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δί-  
 κῃς εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὡς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν.  
 ἐ γνῶμη ἦν ὡς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλὼντα  
 διακόνοντα. ὁ μέντοι Κύρος εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας 11  
 κεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβά-  
 ρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγὴ ἀλλὰ  
 ἦ ὡς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχίῃ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσ-  
 αυ. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν 12  
 γρητι τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ  
 εἰρῆς ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν  
 ἐμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶη· κὰν τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶ-  
 , πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ 13  
 οὐκ οὐκ στίφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔξω ὄντα τοῦ [Ἑλλη-  
 νῶ] εὐωνύμου βασιλέα· τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιήν-  
 τιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου  
 νύμου ἔξω ἦν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἠθέληεν  
 ἰσπᾶσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβού-  
 ος μὴ κυκλωθεὶς ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο  
 αὐτῷ μέλοι ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ 14  
 ῥῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προΐει,  
 δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο  
 τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύνων οὐ  
 νυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε  
 βλέπων εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους.  
 ν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, 15  
 ἐλάσας ὡς συναντῆσαι ἤρετο, εἰ τι παραγγέλλοι·  
 ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι καὶ  
 ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. ταῦτα δὲ λέγων 16  
 οὐβον ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο,  
 ὁ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, ὅτι τὸ σύν-  
ια παρέρχεται δευτέρου ἡδῆ. καὶ ὁ δὲ ἐθαύμασε, τίς  
 παραγγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο, ὅ, τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ'  
 ἐκρίνατο ὅτι Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. ὁ δὲ Κύρος 17  
 οὐσας, Ἀλλὰ δέχομαι τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.

he  
+

υψη  
^

- ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὸ φάλαγγε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἥνικα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ
- 18 προήρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὥς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγατο πάντες, οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες, ὥς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα
- 19 ἐδούπησαν φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδῶκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν
- 20 τάξει ἔπεσθαι. τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν, δίστασαντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη [ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ] ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασιν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις
- 21 ἐλέγετο. Κύρος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἠδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὥς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἑξακοσίων ἵππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελείτο, ὅ, τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ᾗδει αὐτόν ὅτι μέσον ἔχει
- 22 τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἢν ἢ ἡ ἰσχυρὰ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγελίαι χρήζοιεν, ἐν ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα.
- 23 καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὁμῶς ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπτεν ὥς εἰς κύκλωσιν.

δυσκολεῖται

α δὲ Κύρος δέσας μὴ ὀπισθεν γινόμενος κατακόψῃ 24  
 Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβαλὼν σὺν τοῖς  
 κοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ  
 φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι  
 ἐται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην τὸν ἄρ-  
 τα αὐτῶν. ὥς δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται 25  
 οἱ Κύρου ἑξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες,  
 ν πάνν ὀλίγοι ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν  
 ἰοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ 26  
 ἰλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ  
 ἔχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, Τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶ, ἵετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
 παῖει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ  
 ἱκος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς  
 οαυμά φησι. παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλ- 27  
 ῖν τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι  
 βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκα-  
 τ, ὁπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον  
 τίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς  
 τέθανε καὶ ὀκτῶ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο  
 εὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν 28  
 τούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε  
 ν, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ.  
 οὐ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεῦσαι τινα ἐπισφάξαι 29.  
 ὁ Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι σπασάμενον  
 ἱκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν, καὶ στρεπτὸν δέ  
 ι καὶ ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περ-  
 ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοϊάν τε καὶ  
 ἰήτητα.

ὕρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὦν Περ- 9  
 τῶν μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλι-  
 γός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὥς παρὰ πάντων  
 ἡγεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.  
 ον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὦν, ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν 2  
 δελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα

- 3 κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περ-  
σῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα  
πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ'  
4 οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκούσαι οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες  
καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ  
ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μαν-  
5 θάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδη-  
μονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι,  
τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων  
μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς  
ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς  
τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλο-  
6 μαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θη-  
ρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπι-  
φερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπᾶσθη  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς  
φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μὲν-  
7 τοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Ἀνδίας τε  
καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς  
δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ  
πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι  
περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῃ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῃ συν-  
8 θοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῃ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ  
γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι,  
ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπει-  
9 παθεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι  
αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κύρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους  
πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύ-  
10 γοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ  
ἐπέδεικνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προῖτο, ἐπεὶ  
ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ τι μὲν μείους

νοιντο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν | φανερός δ' ἦν καὶ 11  
 τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώ-  
 νος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχοίτο  
 σούτου χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστω νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς  
 κακῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι 12  
 αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ  
 ἡμάτα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.  
 μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους 13  
 ἢ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῦν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων  
 μωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στεῖβο-  
 νας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στε-  
 υένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο  
 ἢ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς ποι-  
 ῆσθαι ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὅ, τι προχωροίη  
 ὅς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο δια- 14  
 ούντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος  
 ὃς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ  
 τοὺς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυ-  
 νεῖν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο  
 ρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλῃ δώροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαί- 15  
 θαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ  
 κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλή  
 ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν θελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις  
 ἰτο Κύρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἰ 16  
 αὐτῷ φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος,  
 ἢ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν  
 ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα 17  
 πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατευματι-  
 θινῷ ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ  
 χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 ὡσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν  
 ὃ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ 18  
 ἐστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχά-  
 τον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ



ὑπηρεταί παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι·  
 19 εἰ δέ τινα ὀρώη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου  
 καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους  
 ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πάποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω  
 προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως  
 ἐκτῶντο καὶ δ' ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς τις ἥκιστα Κύρον ἔκρυπτεν·  
 οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο,  
 ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων  
 20 χρήμασι. φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εὖνους  
 γνωίη ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ, τι  
 τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς  
 21 πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. καὶ γὰρ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἕνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι,  
 ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς  
 φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθά-  
 22 νοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς  
 γε ὦν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων  
 δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους  
 ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεό-  
 23 μενον. καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις  
 ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ  
 τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα  
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ  
 καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.  
 24 καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατότερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ  
 τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι  
 χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμουγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι.  
 25 Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις, ὅποτε  
 πάνν ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου  
 τούτου ἡδίοι οἶνον ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε  
 καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα  
 26 φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ  
 ἄρτων ἡμίσεια καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων

φέροντα· Τούτοις ἦσθη Κύρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ  
 τούτων γεύσασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς στάσις πάντων  
 , αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολ-  
 ῦς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀπεκί-  
 νη ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα  
 ἔχουσιν ἵππους ἐμβάλλειν τούτων τὸν χιλόν, ὥς μὴ  
 ἰκνῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἀγωνίσκω. εἰ δὲ ἤδη ποτε 25  
 ρεῖνοιτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν  
 ἰς φίλους ἐσπουδαίολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖη οἷς τιμᾷ  
 τε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλείονων  
 φιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων, τεκμήριον 29  
 τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος  
 εἰς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε·  
 οὗτος δὲ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὖρε  
 ρῶ φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ  
 ἰς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγέ-  
 το, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώ-  
 νται, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας  
 τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμή- 30  
 ν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο  
 ἰς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνοια καὶ βεβαίους. ἀποθνήσκοντος 31  
 αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντρά-  
 ροι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου·  
 ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ  
 γαυροῦ ἄρχων· ὥς δ' ἦσθητο Κύρον πεπτωκότα,  
 ἦγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν, οὐ ἤγγετο.  
 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεὶρ 10  
 δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσ-  
 ρττει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ  
 αἰαλοῦ οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐ-  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν ὥρμητο·  
 ταρας δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ.  
 τιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ 2

διαρπάξουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαίδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα  
 3 τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ  
 Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα  
 ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς  
 σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς  
 μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν  
 καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνθρω-  
 4 ποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλή-  
 λων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια,  
 οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες,  
 5 οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρα-  
 τεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε  
 Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἴχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται,  
 ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας πλησιαί-  
 6 τατος γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος  
 ἦν προσιῶν πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὅπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλ-  
 ληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντας  
καὶ δεξόμενοι, ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἡ δὲ  
 παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγα-  
 γεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.  
 7 ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν,  
 ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, δια-  
 στάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς·  
 Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἤρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ  
 8 ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς  
 μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς  
 δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ

with view

Amphipolis

ντυγχανεὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι  
 πορεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλ- 9  
 λήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς  
 τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοῖς κατα-  
 ῖψαιαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ  
 κησασθαι ὀπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα 10  
 βουλευόντο καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ  
 ἰστὸν σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ  
 πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνήει. ὥς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλ-  
 ληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αἰθίσ-  
 μιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ  
 νόσθεν. οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ 11  
 νέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἐφειγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεσώκον μέχρι  
 ἱμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ 12  
 ρ τῆς κώμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνέστράφησαν οἱ  
 ἐπὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ  
 φος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιοῦμενον μὴ γινώσκειν.  
 ἢ τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα  
 οὐσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτης [ἐπὶ ξύλου] ἀνατεταμένον. ἐπεὶ 13  
 καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ  
 τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὲν ἔτι ἀθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι  
 λοθὲν ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ 14  
 ἵ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβί-  
 ζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ  
 κράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον  
 ἢ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 φου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε 15  
 ἢ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχε-  
 ν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδίετο. ἐνταῦθα δ' 16  
 τῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο·  
 ἢ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο  
 δ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν  
 τὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ  
 ταληφόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβου- 17

λείοντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα  
 ἄγουντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν οὖν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἀμφὶ δόρηστον ἐπὶ  
 18 τὰς σκηνάς. ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος  
 ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων  
 τὰ πλεῖστα διηρησμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν,  
 καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρε-  
 σκευάσατο Κύρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα  
 λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ  
 τετρακόσαι, ὥς ἐλέγοντο, ἄμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ  
 19 σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖ-  
 στοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ  
 δὴ καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς  
 ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγέγοντο.

*was collected*  
 BOOK II.

- 1 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅτε  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν  
 τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς  
 Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ
- 2 Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. ἅμα δὲ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι  
 Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σηματοῦντα, ὃ, τι χρὴ ποι-  
 εῖν, οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευα-  
 σμένοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισμένοις προΐεναι εἰς τὸ
- 3 πρόσθεν, ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. ἦδ' ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων  
 ἅμα ἡλὶφ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρ-  
 χων, γεγωνὺς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς  
 ὁ Ταμῳ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος  
 δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρ-

ὧν ὅθεν τῇ προτεραιᾷ ὄρμηντο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύ-  
 ρ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένειεν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν  
 εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπικέαι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ  
 ἴε. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 4  
 ἄλλῃ πύκνυντο βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ  
 ἰε εἶπεν. Ἄλλ' ὠφέλε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετε-  
 τηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίφ, ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε  
 τιλέα, καί, ὥς ὁράτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ  
 ὑμεῖς ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγ-  
 λόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίφ, ἔαν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον  
 βασιλείου καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχῃ νικῶντων  
 τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστὶ. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέ- 5  
 ρ καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Δάκωνα καὶ Μέ-  
 α τὸν Θετταλόν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο·  
 γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. οἱ μὲν ὄχλοντο, 6  
 ἐαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο  
 οὐ ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς  
 ἵππους καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο, μικρὸν προϊόντες  
 τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ ἢ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς  
 ὀλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν  
 αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις  
 ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλλῖναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλὰ  
 καὶ πέλται καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς  
 τι χρώμενοι κρέα ἐψόντες ἤσθιον ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέ-  
 ραν· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρ- 7  
 ται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες, οἱ  
 ἄλλοι βάρβαροι· ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἕλληνα,  
 ἐτύγγανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὧν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων·  
 γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ  
 εἰς τε καὶ ὅπλομαχίαν. οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ 8  
 λέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν,  
 βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχά-  
 καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰόντας  
 τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνυνται

Sacred

- 9 ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τοῦτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ, τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα·
- 10 ἔτυχε γὰρ θνύμενος. ἐνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλίνε, Δαυμάζω, πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω, τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα
- 11 χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μεσῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθους ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ', εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, δύνασθε ἂν
- 12 ἀποκτεῖναι. Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὀράς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μη οὖν οἶον τὰ μόνᾳ ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχόμεθα.
- 13 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε τὴν ὑμετέραν
- 14 ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους, ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι

γουν

γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο  
 τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγ-  
 καταστρέφαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, 15  
 καὶ ἠρώτησεν, εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὗτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα  
λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, 16  
 ὦ Φάλινε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάν-  
 τες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες,  
 ὅσους σὺ ὀράς. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμ-  
 βουλευόμεθά σοι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ 17  
 ἴν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὅ, τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλ-  
 ιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὅ σοι τιμὴν οἴσκει εἰς τὸν  
 πειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμ-  
 θεῖς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ  
 πλεονεχέειν παραδοῦναι ξυμβουλευομένοις ξυμβούλευσεν αὐ-  
 τῷ τάδε. οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλ-  
 λίδι ἅ ἂν συμβουλευέσης. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα 18  
 ἤγχετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως  
 ἑσβένοντα ξυμβουλευέσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὄπλα,  
 ὡς εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 οστρέφας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν 19  
 ὡς ἐλπίδων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ σωθῆναι πολε-  
 ῖντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ  
 ὄπλα· εἰ δὲ τοι μηδεμίαν σωτηρίαν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκουτος  
 βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν.  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ 20  
 λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς  
 ἐθέλομεν, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος  
 ἢ ξίφοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα ἢ παραδόντες  
 ὄπλα, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες  
 ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, 21  
 ὦ Κλέαρχε, μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν  
 ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπον-  
 δήσαντες, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε



- 3 κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περ-  
σῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως δύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα  
πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ'  
4 οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἀκούσαι οὐτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες  
καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ  
ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μαν-  
5 θάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. ἔνθα Κύρος αἰδη-  
μονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι,  
τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων  
μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς  
ἵπποις ἄριστα χρήσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς  
τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φίλο  
6 μαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ  
ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θη-  
ρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπι-  
φερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάσθη  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς  
φαγεράς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέν-  
7 τοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν, ἐπεὶ  
δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε  
καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς  
δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ  
πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ὅτι  
περὶ πλείστον ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῃ σπεύσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῃ συν-  
8 θοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῃ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. καὶ  
γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι,  
ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπει-  
9 παθεῖν. τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι  
αἱ πόλεις ἐκούσαι Κύρον εἵλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους  
πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλε τοὺς φεύ-  
10 γοντας προέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ  
ἐπέδεικνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προῖτο, ἐπεὶ  
ἄπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἰ ἔτι μὲν μείους

νοινοτο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν φανερός δ' ἦν καὶ 11  
 τίς τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾷν πειρώ-  
 νος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὡς εὐχοίτο  
 τοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστε νικῆῃ καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς  
 κῶς ποιούντας ἀλεξόμενος. καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι 12  
 αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ  
 ἡματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσέσθαι.  
 μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὡς τοὺς κακούργους 13  
 ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων  
 μωρεῖτο. πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στειβο-  
 ρας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στε-  
 ιένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο  
 ἡ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πο-  
 ῖεσθαι ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὃ, τι προχωροίη  
 ἰς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο δια- 14  
 ρόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος  
 πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατεύμενος οὖν καὶ  
 πρὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυν-  
 εῖν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο  
 ρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλη δώροις ἐτίμα· ὥστε φαί- 15  
 θαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ  
 κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλή  
 ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν θελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Κύρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐλ- 16  
 λήναι αὐτῷ φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος,  
 ὅτι παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν  
 ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα 17  
 πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι  
 ἡθιῶν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ  
 χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἔπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ  
 ὥσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν  
 ὅτι κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ τίς γέ τι αὐτῷ 18  
 ὑποτάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχά-  
 ρον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ

ὑπηρεταί παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι·  
 19 εἰ δέ τινα ὀρώη δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου  
 καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἧς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους  
 ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πλείω  
 προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως  
 ἐκτῶντο καὶ δ' ἐπέπατο αὐτὸς τις ἥκιστα Κύρον ἔκρυπτεν·  
 οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο,  
 ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων  
 20 χρήμασι. φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιτο καὶ εὖνους  
 γνῶναι ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ, τι  
 τυγχάνοι βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς  
 21 πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. καὶ γὰρ  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι,  
 ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς  
 φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθά-  
 22 νοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. δῶρα δὲ πλείστα μὲν οἶμαι εἰς  
 γε ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων  
 δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους  
 ἑκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεό-  
 23 μενον. καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις  
 ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, καὶ περὶ  
 τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα  
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ  
 καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.  
 24 καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα  
 οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ  
 τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμείσθαι  
 χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι.  
 25 Κύρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίλους οἶνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις, ὅποτε  
 πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου  
 τούτου ἡδίστον οἶνον ἐπιτύχοι· τούτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε  
 καὶ δεῖταί σου τήμερον τούτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα  
 26 φιλεῖς. πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ  
 ἄρτων ἡμίσεια καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων

φέροντα· Τούτοις ἦσθη Κύρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ  
 τούτων γεύσασθαι. ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάννυ 27  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολ-  
 ῦς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμ-  
 νων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα  
 συσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὥς μὴ  
 πυνώντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε 28  
 ρεύουτο καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλὼν  
 οὖς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖη οὖς τιμᾶ-  
 τε ἔγωγε ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλείονων  
 βελῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων, τεκμήριον 29  
 τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος  
 εἰς ἀπήει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε·  
 οὗτος δὲ ὃν ᾤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὖρε  
 ρω φιλαίτερον ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλοὶ  
 οὖς Κύρον ἀπήλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγέ-  
 το, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώ-  
 οι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιοτέρας  
 τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. μέγα δὲ τεκμή- 30  
 ριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο  
 πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. ἀποθνήσκοντος 31  
 αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντρά-  
 ραι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου·  
 οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγγανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἄρχων· ὥς δ' ἦσθετο Κύρον πεπτωκότα,  
 οὐ μὲν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν, οὐ ἡγεῖτο.  
 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεῖρ 10  
 ἐξιά. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διώκων εἰσ-  
 τεῖ εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ  
 αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐ-  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμόν, ἔνθεν ὄρμητο·  
 οὗτοι δ' ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ.  
 βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ 2

- διαρπάξουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα  
 3 τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ  
 Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα  
 ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς  
 σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς  
 μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν  
 , καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρω-  
 4 ποι ἐγένοντο πάντα ἔσωσαν. ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλή-  
 λων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια,  
 οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ὡς πάντας νικῶντες,  
 5 οἱ δ' ἀρπάζοντες ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρα-  
 τεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε  
 Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰχονται διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται,  
 ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο Πρόξενον καλέσας πλησιαί-  
 6 τας γὰρ ἦν, εἰ πέμποιέν τινας ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος  
 ἦν προσιῶν πάλιν, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὅπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλ-  
 ληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντας  
καὶ δεξόμενοι, ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἡ δὲ  
παρήλθεν ἐξω τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγα-  
γεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.  
 7 ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν,  
 ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας  
 πέλταστας· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, δια-  
 στάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς·  
 Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἤρχε τῶν πέλταστών καὶ  
 8 ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς  
 μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς  
 δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ

with view

Amphipolis

συντηγῶναι βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι  
 ἐπορεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλ- 9  
 λήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς  
 τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατα-  
 κόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ  
 ποιήσασθαι ὀπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα 10  
 ἐβουλεύοντο καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμεινόμενος εἰς τὸ  
 αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ  
 τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνῆει. ὥς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλ-  
 ληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις  
 παιανίσαντες ἐπήρσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ  
 πρόσθεν. οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ 11  
 πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι  
 κόμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ 12  
 γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ  
 ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πέσοι μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ  
 λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιοῦμενον μὴ γιγνώσκειν.  
 καὶ τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα  
 χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτης [ἐπὶ ξύλου] ἀνατεταμένον. ἐπεὶ 13  
 δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ  
 τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἀθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι  
ἄλλοθεν ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ 14  
 εἶπὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβί-  
 βαζειν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ  
 ἱππαστεῦμα πέμπει Δύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον 15  
 ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. καὶ ὁ Δύκιος ἤλασέ τε 16  
 αἰ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. σχε-  
 δὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύνετο. ἐνταῦθα δ' 17  
 στήσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἀνεπαύοντο·  
 αἱ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνεται  
 ὕδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρείη· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν  
 ὅτι τὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἰκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἰχέσθαι ἢ  
 καταληφθόμενον τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβου-

λείοντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα  
 ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν οὖν  
 αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἀμφὶ δόρπηστον ἐπὶ  
 18 τὰς σκηνάς. ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος  
 ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων  
 τὰ πλείστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν,  
 καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας, μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρε-  
 σκεύασατο Κύρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ τὸ στράτευμα  
 λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ  
 τετρακόσαι, ὥς ἔλεγοντο, ἄμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ  
 19 σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. ὥστε ἄδειπνοὶ ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖ-  
 στοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ  
 δὴ καταλύσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς  
 ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

was collected  
 BOOK II.

- 1 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὅτε  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν  
 τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς  
 Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ
- 2 Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδηλωται. ἅμα δὲ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι  
 Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σηματοῦντα, ὃ, τι χρὴ ποι-  
 εῖν, οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευα-  
 σάμενοις ἃ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισάμενοις προΐεναι εἰς τὸ
- 3 πρόσθεν, ἕως Κύρῳ συμμίξειαν. ἥδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων  
 ἅμα ἡλὶφ ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρ-  
 χων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς  
 ὁ Ταμῳ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος  
 δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρ-

βάρων ὄθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμηντο, καὶ λέγοι ὅτι ταύ-  
 την μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμείνειεν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν  
 ἦκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ  
 ἦλθε. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 4  
 Ἕλληνες πύνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ  
 τάδε εἶπεν. Ἄλλ' ὠφέλε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετε-  
 λεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ, ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε  
 βασιλέα, καί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καὶ εἰ  
 μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγ-  
 γελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον  
 τὸν βασιλείου καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχῃ νικῶντων  
 καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστί. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέ- 5  
 λους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μέ-  
 νωνα τὸν Θετταλόν. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο·  
 ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο, 6  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο  
 γῆτον ὅπως ἐδύνατο ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς  
 βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δ' ἐχρῶντο, μικρὸν προϊόντες  
 πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οὐ ἡ μάχῃ ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς  
 πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν  
 οὓς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέροισι  
 αἱ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλὰ  
 καὶ πέλται καὶ ἅμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς  
 ἄσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἔφοντες ἦσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμε- 7  
 ριν. καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρ-  
 νται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους κήρυκες, οἱ  
 ἢ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι· ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλίνος εἰς Ἕλληνα,  
 ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων·  
 ἢ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ  
 ξεῖς τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ 8  
 λέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν,  
 βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχά-  
 καὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰόντας  
 τὰς βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται



saved

- 9 ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ, τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα·
- 10 ἔτυχε γὰρ θνόμενος. ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλῖνε, Δαυμάζω, πότερα ὥς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὥς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὥς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω, τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα
- 11 χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι τοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μεσῇ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πληθὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ', εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, δύναισθε ἂν
- 12 ἀποκτεῖναι. Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὥς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωματῶν στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἶον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχόμεθα.
- 13 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε τὴν ὑμετέραν
- 14 ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακιζομένους, ὥς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοὺ ἀξιο

you

γένοντο, εἰ βούλοιτο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο  
 τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγ-  
 καταστρέφαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, 15  
 καὶ ἠρώτησεν, εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὔτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα  
λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπέ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, 16  
 ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάν-  
 τες· σύ τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐῖ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες,  
 ὅσους σὺ ὀράς. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμ-  
 βουλευομέθα σοι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ 17  
 οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ, τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλ-  
 λιστον καὶ ἀριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν  
 ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμ-  
 φθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὰ  
 ἵπλα παραδοῦναι ξυμβουλευομένοις ξυμβούλευσεν αὐ-  
 τοῖς τάδε. οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλ-  
 λάδι ἃ ἂν συμβουλευσῃς. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα 18  
 πῆγετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως  
 ῥεσβεύοντα ξυμβουλευσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα,  
 πως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἑλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 τοστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν 19  
 οὖν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μίᾳ τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολε-  
 ούντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδίδοναι τὰ  
 ἵπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμίᾳ σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος  
 βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σῶζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατον.  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ 20  
 λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπαγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς  
 μεθ' αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος  
 ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες  
 αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες  
 ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, 21  
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν  
 οὖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπον-  
 εῖησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε

οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν  
 22 ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. Κλέαρχος  
 δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοῖνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὅτι καὶ  
 ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ, ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά  
 ἐστίν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν  
 μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιούσι δὲ καὶ προϊούσι πόλε-  
 23 μος. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγ-  
 γελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτά πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαί  
 μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιούσι δὲ ἢ προϊούσι πόλεμος. ὃ, τι  
 δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμνηε.

- 2 Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ᾤχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ  
 παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένων  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ. οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι  
 πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους,  
 οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ  
 βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἤκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός·  
 2 εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς πρῶτ' ἀπιέναι φησίν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος  
 εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἤκωμεν, ὥσπερ  
 λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πράττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε  
 μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὃ, τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις  
 3 εἶπε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύοντος συγκαλέσας  
 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. Ἐμοί,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ  
 ἱερά. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν  
 πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης  
 ποταμός ἐστι νανσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ  
 πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν  
 δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἐστὶν  
 ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάννυ καλὰ  
 4 ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερά ἦν. ὥδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δει-  
 πνεῖν ὃ, τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὥς  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον,  
 ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε  
 τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ

ποταμοί, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρα- 5  
τηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ  
λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἦρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι,  
ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες, ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα,  
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἣν 6  
ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, στα-  
θμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνεήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριά-  
κοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξα-  
ισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι  
ἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. ἐν 7  
εὐθεν, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θραῦ-  
χων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταρά-  
κοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους ἠτο-  
ίλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις 8  
εἶτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο. καὶ  
κυκλῶνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον  
ἐν τῇ ἐκείνου στρατιᾷ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας καὶ ἐν  
ξείθήμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ξυνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λο-  
χοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὥμοσαν οἱ  
Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτι-  
τι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι·  
δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως.  
τα δ' ὥμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ 9  
ῥον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες βάπτον-  
ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ 10  
εἶπε, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπείπερ  
ἴτος ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπέ, τίνα γνώμην  
ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢ περὶ ἡλθο-  
ῖς ἄλλην τινα ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω.  
εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἡλθομεν ἀπίοντες παντελῶς ἀν 11  
λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν  
ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυ-  
οῦδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχομεν  
ἀνείναι· ἔνθα δὲ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατε-

δαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακρο-  
 12 τέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδεῶν οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. πορευ-  
 τέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα  
 μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ  
 βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν  
 ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασι-  
 λεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγη μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι  
 οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολλὴν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ  
 δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπιτηδεῶν σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω  
 ἔγωγε.

13 Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ  
 ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλ-  
 λιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ  
 ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλῖφ δύνοντι  
 14 εἰς κόμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ  
 ἐψεύσθησαν. ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ἔδοξαν· πολεμίου  
 ὄραν ἵππεας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν  
 ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις, ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος,  
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτέτρωτο,  
 15 καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλί-  
 ζοντο ἤκουον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποί, ὅτι οὐχ  
 ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμονται. καὶ εὐθύς ἔγνω-  
 σαν πάντες, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς·  
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κόμαις οὐ πρόσω.  
 16 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἦδει  
 γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους  
 ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὄψε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε,  
 φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύρουν ἄγων  
 ἅμα τῷ ἡλῖφ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κόμας τοὺς  
 πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 17 οἰκιῶν ξύλα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες

ὥς ἐτύγγανον ἕκαστοι ἠύλιζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ 18 ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε ιτρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη ἰέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. δῆλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. προιούσης 19 ἔντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φόβος ἐπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ὑπεσόντος γίνεσθαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἥλειον, 20 ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε συγὴν κατακηρύξαντα, ἡ προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν νῦν εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μνηύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαν- 21 ἡ ἀργυρίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ 21 ρατιῶται, ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐ. ἅμα δὲ ὄρθρω παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τὴν τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἡ μάχη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, 3 ἡ δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ α παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίφ ἀνατέλ- 4 ἡ κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον 2 τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτησαν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ πῆγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ 3 γτησε τὸ στράτευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὀραῖσθαι ἡ φάλαγγα πυκνήν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδὲνα κατα- εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προ- 4 τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα εἶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα, 4

- τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν,  
 ἄνδρες, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως  
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 5 βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖνυν αὐτῷ,  
 ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ  
 6 τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι μὴ πορί-  
 σας ἄριστον. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαν-  
 νον, καὶ ἤκου ταχύ· ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που  
 βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὃ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράτ-  
 τειν· ἔλεγον δέ, ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ  
 7 ἤκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτούς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένων-  
 ται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα,  
 εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο τοῖς ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιού-  
 σιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δέ, Ἀπα-  
 8 σιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγ-  
 γελθῇ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς  
 ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖ-  
 9 σθαι ταχὺ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 καὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν καμοὶ  
 ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω,  
 ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς  
 σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς  
 ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι σπένδοιτο,  
 10 καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ πηγήδεια. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν ἡγούντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπον-  
 δὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὡπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετίγχανον τάφροις καὶ  
 αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεις, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν  
 ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοι-  
 νικων, οἳ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον.  
 11 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεστάτει,  
 ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ  
 βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίῃ τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο

μεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον  
 παῖσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν  
 ἡλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ  
 υποδαΐζειν. καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ 12  
 οἰάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἑώρων  
 πονδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.  
 οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ 13  
 οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν  
 οἷα τὸ πεδῖον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προ-  
 κείνοιτο τοῖς Ἕλλησι ιδεῖν εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τοῦτου  
 καὶ βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφει-  
 καί. πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἀπέ- 14  
 ξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνὴν δὲ  
 οὗτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ  
 αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων, οἷας 15  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέ-  
 κειτο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπό-  
 τοι, θανμάσιαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἡ δὲ ὄψις  
 κτρου οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινες ξηραίνοντες τρα-  
 ατα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν,  
 χαλαρὰ δέ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοί- 16  
 ς πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ  
 ἵμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς.  
 δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ,  
 ἐξαιρεθεῖν ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος αὐαίνεται.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου 17  
 λέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναι-  
 δελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δούλοι δὲ πολλοὶ  
 το. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 τῆροί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως  
 ε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ 18  
 ἰδί, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμή-  
 ἐμπεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποιησάμην, εἴ πως δυναί-  
 ἀρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσώσαι

ἐνταῦθα  
 ἔμειναν



ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως  
 μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλ-  
 19 λάδος. ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ,  
 ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κύρόν τε ἐπι-  
 στρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα  
 τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμεν, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ  
 συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα  
 βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς ξὺν  
 Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παρούσι νῦν  
 20 μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν  
 τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλεύσασθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με  
 ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα, τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι,  
 ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾖ, ἢ ἐάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν  
 21 παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος  
 δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὥς βασιλεῖ πολε-  
 μήσοντες οὐτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς  
 προφάσεις Κύρος εὔρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα  
 ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε  
 22 ἀναγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ  
 ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι  
 αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 23 εὖ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κύρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντι-  
 ποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλοίμεθ'  
 ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν  
 ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ  
 τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα  
 σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ  
 ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησό-  
 24 μεθα εὖ ποιούντες. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ  
 Τισσαφέρνης ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ  
 ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω αἰ

having  
defeated

σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέχομεν. καὶ 25  
εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ "Ελληνες  
ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαπεπρα-  
γμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σῶζειν τοὺς  
"Ελλήνας, καί περ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ  
ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφείναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσα-  
μένους· τέλος δὲ εἶπε, καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ 26  
λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φίλαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν  
χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν  
παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν  
μᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὑμᾶς δ' 27  
ὃ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας  
τινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὅποταν μὴ ἀγορὰν  
ἀρέχωμεν, ἣν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνουμένους ἔξειν  
ἐπιτήδεια· ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμωσαν καὶ δεξιάς 28  
οσαν Τισσαφέρην καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς  
ελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς  
ἐλάβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισ- 29  
φέρης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπει-  
δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς  
ἰζων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ  
ἔμματος ἀρχήν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρην οἳ τε "Ελ- 4  
ες καὶ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι  
ας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται  
· Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι  
πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν  
τὴν δεξιὰς ἔνιοι παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικα-  
ν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας  
ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παρωχημένων· τούτων δὲ 2  
μένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦττον προσ-  
ες τοῖς "Ελλήσι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
λέν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ  
όντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρα-

having  
defeated

saved

- 9 ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τοῦτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὅ, τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω. ἐκάλεσε γάρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα·
- 10 ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. ἔνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκὰς πρεσβύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Φαλίνε, θανυμάξω, πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίας δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω, τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα
- 11 χαρίσωνται. πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλίνος εἶπε, Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγείται, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτονε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι τοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μεσῇ τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χώρᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πληθὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ', εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, δύνασθε ἂν
- 12 ἀποκτεῖναι. Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν, ὦ Φαλίνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὅπλα καὶ ἀρετή. ὅπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἶον τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῦτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχθύμεθα.
- 13 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλίνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶει τὴν ὑμετέραν
- 14 ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως. ἄλλους δὲ τινες ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους, ὡς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι

you

γένοντο, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο  
 τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγ-  
 καταστρέφαιντ' ἂν αὐτῷ. ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, 15  
 καὶ ἠρώτησεν, εἰ ἤδη ἀποκεκριμένοι εἰεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Οὔτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα  
 λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπέ τί λέγεις. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ σε, 16  
 ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάν-  
 τες· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἕλλην εἶ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες,  
 ὅσους σὺ ὀράς. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμ-  
 βουλευόμεθά σοι, τί χρῆ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. σὺ 17  
 ὦν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὃ, τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλ-  
 λιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν  
 ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμ-  
 ψθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ  
 ὅπλα παραδούναι ξυμβουλευμένοις ξυμβούλευσεν αὐ-  
 τοῖς τάδε. οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλ-  
 λάδι ἃ ἂν συμβουλεύσης. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα 18  
 ὑπήγχετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως  
 πρᾶσβεύοντα ξυμβουλεύσαι μὴ παραδούναι τὰ ὅπλα,  
 ὥπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἰεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ  
 ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, εἰ μὲν 19  
 γὼν μυρίων ἐλπιδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστι σωθῆναι πολε-  
 μούντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδίδόναι τὰ  
 ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμίᾳ σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος  
 βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν.  
 Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ 20  
 ὃν λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς  
 ἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος  
 ν' ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες  
 αὐτὰ, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες  
 ἢ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλῳ παραδόντες. ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε, 21  
 αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν  
 πεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν αὐτοῦ σπον-  
 δι εἴησαν, προϊοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιούσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε

οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν  
 22 ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ. Κλέαρχος  
 δ' ἔλεξεν, Ἀπάγγελλε τοῖσιν καὶ περὶ τούτου, ὅτι καὶ  
 ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ, ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ. Τί οὖν ταῦτά  
 ἐστίν; ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος, Ἦν  
 μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιούσι δὲ καὶ προϊούσι πόλε-  
 23 μος. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε, Σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγ-  
 γελῶ; Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτά πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο, Σπονδαί  
 μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιούσι δὲ ἢ προϊούσι πόλεμος. ὅ, τι  
 δὲ ποιήσοι οὐ διεσήμνηε.

- 2 Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὄχχeto καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ  
 παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος. Μένων  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ. οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι  
 πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους,  
 οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ' εἰ  
 βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἦκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός·  
 2 εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς πρῶτ' ἀπιέναι φησίν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος  
 εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἦκωμεν, ὥσπερ  
 λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πράττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴσθε  
 μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ, τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις  
 3 εἶπε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤδη ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας  
 τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἔλεξε τοιαύδε. Ἐμοί,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ ἵεναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ  
 ἱερά. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν  
 πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τύγρης  
 ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ  
 πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν  
 δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἐστὶν  
 ἔχειν· ἵεναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάννυ καλὰ  
 4 ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερά ἦν. ὥδε οὖν χρή ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δει-  
 πνεῖν ὅ, τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνη τῷ κέρατι ὥς  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον,  
 ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε  
 τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ

ποταμοί, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρα- 5  
τηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ  
λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι,  
ἀλλὰ ὁρῶντες, ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα,  
οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἦν 6  
ἦλθον ἐξ Ἑφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, στα-  
θμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνεήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριά-  
κοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξα-  
κισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι  
εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. ἐν 7  
τεύθει, ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο, Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ  
ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταρά-  
κοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους ἡτο-  
μόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις 8  
ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο. καὶ  
ἱφικνούνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαίων  
καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας καὶ ἐν  
ᾧ ξέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ξυνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λο-  
χαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαίων· καὶ ὤμοσαν ὅς  
εἰ Ἑλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτι-  
τοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσσεσθαι·  
οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως.  
τῷτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον καὶ λύκον καὶ 9  
ἵπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες βάπτου-  
σι ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ 10  
ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεῖπερ  
αὐτὸς ὑμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπέ, τίνα γνώμην  
εἰς περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἤνπερ ἦλθο-  
ν ἢ ἄλλην τινα ἐννευσηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρεῖττω.  
δ' εἶπεν, Ἦν μὲν ἦλθομεν ἀπιώντες παντελῶς ἂν 11  
ὁ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν  
ν ἐπιτηδεῖων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυ-  
γῶ οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἴοντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν  
υβάνειν· ἔνθα δέ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατε-

δαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακρο-  
 12 τέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. πορευ-  
 τέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμούς ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα  
 μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὥς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ  
 βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν  
 ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασι-  
 λεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγῃ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι  
 οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ  
 δύνησεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω  
 ἐγώ γε.

13 *οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν* Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ  
 ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλ-  
 λιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ  
 ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλῖφ δύνοντι  
 εἰς κώμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ  
 14 ἐψεύσθησαν. ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δέλῃην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους  
 ὁρᾶν ἱππέας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν  
 ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις. ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος,  
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτέτρωτο,  
 15 καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλί-  
 ζοντο ἤκουον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ, ὅτι οὐχ  
 ἱππεῖς εἰσιν ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμονται. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνω-  
 σαν πάντες, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεύς·  
 καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κώμας οὐ πρόσω.  
 16 Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἦδει  
 γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους  
 ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὄψε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε,  
 φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων  
 ἅμα τῷ ἡλῖφ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κώμας τοὺς  
 πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 17 οἰκιῶν ξύλα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὅμως τρόπῳ τινὶ  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιώντες

ὡς ἐτύγγανον ἕκαστοι ἠϋλλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραία 18 ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὑστεραία ἔπραττε. προϊούσης 19 μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δούπος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίνεσθαι. Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἡλείον, 20 ὃν ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἀριστοῦ τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα, ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὅς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ἵνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μηνύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ 21 στρατιῶται, ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἴη καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὧοι. ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς ἀξιν τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς "Ελληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ν ἡ μάχη.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, 3 ἥδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ τλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλνυσι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον 2 τὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε 3 τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεύειν ὕς κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ 3 τέστησε τὸ στράτευμα ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι ντὴ φάλαγγα πυκνὴν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα κατα νῇ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προ 3 θε τοὺς τε ἐνοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν οὐ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα 4 ἵασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα, 4



- τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν, ἄνδρες, οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
- 5 βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖνυν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ πορί-
- 6 σας ἄριστον. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαινον, καὶ ἤκον ταχύ· ὧ καὶ δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὃ ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δέ, ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἤκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτούς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένων-
- 7 ται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο τοῖς ἰούσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δέ, Ἀπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγ-
- 8 γελθῇ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι ταχὺ καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
- 9 καὶ λαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μὲν καμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχύ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω, ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι σπένδοιτο,
- 10 καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησόμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὡπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων, οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον.
- 11 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεστάται, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο

ἑταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον  
 παῖσεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν  
 ἡλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι μὴ οὐ  
 υσπουδάξεν. καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ 12  
 ἰάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων  
 πονδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.  
 ἰλὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ 13  
 ἰ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν  
 α οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προ-  
 ῖνοιτο τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἰδεῖν εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου  
 κα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφει-  
 αι. πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἀπέ- 14  
 ῖαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνὴν δὲ  
 ις πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ  
 αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων, οἷας 15  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέ-  
 το, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπό-  
 οι, θανμάσαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἣ δὲ ὄψις  
τροῦ οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινὰς ξηραίνοντες τρα-  
 τα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν,  
 λαλγὲς δέ. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοί- 16  
 πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ  
 ιασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς.  
 σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ,  
 ἔξαιρεθείη ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος αὐαίνοτο.  
 νταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου 17  
 ἑως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναι-  
 ελφὸς καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δούλοι δὲ πολλοί  
 ο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 γγοί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως  
 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ 18  
 ι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ ἀμή-  
 ιπεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποιησάμην, εἴ πως δυναί-  
 οὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσώσαι

εὐνοῖαν

ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως  
 μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλ-  
 19 λάδος. ταῦτα δὲ γινούς ἡτούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ,  
 ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπι-  
 στρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἄμα  
 τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμεν, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 ληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ  
 συνέμιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα  
 βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τοὺς ξὺν  
 Κῦρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παρούσι νῦν  
 20 μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν  
 τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευσασθαι· ἐρέσθαι δέ με  
 ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα, τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι,  
 ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾦ, ἐάν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν  
 21 παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος  
 δ' ἔλεγεν· Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὥς βασιλεῖ πολε-  
 μήσοντας οὐτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς  
 προφάσεις Κῦρος εὔρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα  
 ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε  
 22 ἀναγάγοι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ  
 ὄντα, ἡσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι  
 αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 23 εὖ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντι-  
 ποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλοίμεθ'  
 ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτόν  
 ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἵκαδε, εἴ  
 τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα  
 σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ  
 ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησό-  
 24 μεθα εὖ ποιούντες. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ  
 Τισσαφέρνης ἔφη, Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελάω βασιλεῖ καὶ  
 ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἦκω αἰ

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*of the*  
 47

σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν. καὶ 25  
 εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ "Ἕλληνες  
 ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαπεπρα-  
 γμένος ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς  
 "Ἕλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὡς οὐκ  
 ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσα-  
 μένους. τέλος δὲ εἶπε, καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ 26  
 λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν  
 χώραν καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν  
 παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦ πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν  
 μᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὑμᾶς δ' 27  
 ὑ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας  
 τινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὅποταν μὴ ἀγορὰν  
 πρέχωμεν, ἣν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνούμενους ἔξειν  
 ἐπιτήδεια. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς 28  
 ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν  
 καὶ οἱ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς  
 ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τις- 29  
 βέρνης εἶπε, Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπει-  
 δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος ὡς  
 ἴξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὼν ἐπὶ  
 ἑμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἱ τε "Ελ- 4  
 λες καὶ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι  
 ας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνούνται  
 Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι  
 γρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παρεθάρρυνόν  
 ἰ δεξιὰς ἔνιοι παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικα-  
 ν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας  
 ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παρωχημένων. τούτων δὲ 2  
 ἑνὸς ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦττον προσ-  
 ες τοῖς "Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν. ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο  
 ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ  
 ντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρα-

- 3 τηγοῖς, Τί μένομεν ; ἡ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι φόβος ᾖ ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν ; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διασπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀλυσθῆ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιὰ, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν.
- 4 ἴσως δέ που ἡ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἡ ἀποτειχίζει, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῦδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ
- 5 καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν, Ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι, εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὄθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελεῖφεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρό-
- 6 σθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἔστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλύοντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἂν μάχεσθαί γε δέη, ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν ; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶόν
- 7 τε σωθῆναι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ, τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῖναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάρους. τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.
- 8 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ

γάμφ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ 9  
ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ  
Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα  
Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντῃ καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν  
ἐκείνοις. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὑφορώμενοι τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' 10  
ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο  
δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ  
μεῖον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφότεροι ὥσπερ πολεμίους  
ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρείχεν. ἐνίστε 11  
δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα  
τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε  
καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρείχε. διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς στα- 12  
θμούς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος,  
καὶ παρήλθον εἰσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὠκοδομημένον πλὴν-  
θοῖς ὀπταῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν,  
ὑψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρα-  
σαγγῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. ἐντεῦθεν 13  
δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ·  
καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας,  
τὴν δ' ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτὰ· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέτμητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν  
καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγά-  
λαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὄχετοί,  
ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνούν-  
ται ἐπὶ τὸν Τύγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν με-  
γάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἥ ὄνομα Σιτιτάκη, ἀπέχουσα  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλ- 14  
ληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου  
καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων, οἱ δὲ βάρ-  
βαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τύγρητα· οὐ μέντοι καταφα-  
νεῖς ἦσαν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ 15  
ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὅπλων Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ  
προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἡρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας,  
ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ

- ἐξήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὃν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου.
- 16 ἔπει δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν, ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς, εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάωζος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παρα-
- 17 δέσφω. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λύσαι Τισσαφέρης τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐὰν δύνηται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώ-
- 18 ρυχος. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος
- 19 ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. νεανίσκος δέ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν, ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἴη τό τε ἐπιτιθέσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γάρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν ; οὐδὲ γάρ, ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὦσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι
- 20 φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθήσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς
- 21 δύνησεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον, πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τύγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔννεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ
- 22 καὶ μεγάλαι. τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὀκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τύγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα,
- ~~τὰ δ' ἐπιτιθέσθαι ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλὰς~~
- καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὔσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο, εἰ τις βούλοιο βασιλέα
- 23 κακῶς ποιεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὁμῶς φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο

οὐδείς οὐδαμόθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδείς ἦλθε  
 τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. ἐπειδὴ 24  
 δ' ἔως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην πλοί-  
 οῖς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλα-  
 γμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους  
 Ἑλλήνων, ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι.  
 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ  
 Γλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν, εἰ δια-  
 βαίνουεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ᾤχετο ἀπε-  
 λαύνων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτ- 25  
 ταρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν, ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν,  
 τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὶ δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾤκειτο  
 πόλις μεγάλη, ἥ ὄνομα Ἰλπις· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς  
 Ἑλλήσιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ  
 Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς  
 βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρά-  
 τευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐθεώρει. ὁ δὲ 26  
 Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ  
 ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος. ὅσων δὲ [ἀν] χρόνον τὸ ἡγού-  
 μενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν  
 ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίνεσθαι  
 τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς  
 Ἑλλήσιν δόξαι πάμπολυ εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπε-  
 πλήχθαι θεωροῦντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ 27  
 τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ, παρασάγγας τριά-  
 κοντα, εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ  
 βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρνῃς Κύρῳ ἐπεγ-  
 γελῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδρα-  
 πόδων. ἐνὴν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα 28  
 χρήματα. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους  
 τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσι, τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ᾤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα



Καιναί, ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδιάις διφθερίαις ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον.

- 5 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψία μὲν ἦσαν, φανερὰ
- 2 δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ξυγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ εἰ πως δύναίτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας, πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψε τινα ἐρούντα, ὅτι ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζει.
- 3 ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἤκειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνήλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλεάρχος τάδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους
- 4 ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σέ αἰσθεσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἐγώ τε σαφῶς οἶδα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα, ἐξέλκοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν
- 5 ἀπιστίαν. καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους, φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτ' αὖ βουλομένους
- 6 τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι, ἥκω καὶ διδάσκῃ σε βούλομαι, ὥς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς.
- 7 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὄρκοι κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τούτου ἐγώ οὔποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. (πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα
- 8 καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι.) περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν οὕτω γιγνώσκω, παρ'

οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σέ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς 9 εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἀνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἡ ὁδός· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μα- 10 νέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα ; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἷων ἂν ἐλπιδῶν ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρου ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον 11 γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιτο· σέ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σεαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σώζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἣ Κῦρος πολεμίᾳ ἐχρήτο, σοὶ ταύτην ξύμμαχον οὔσαν· τούτων δὲ τοιούτων 12 ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι ; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σέ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι· οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς 13 νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρουσίᾳ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν, οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐν-οχλοῦντα αἰεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποτὶ δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔν γε 14 τοῖς περίξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τῳ φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπότης ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἳ σοὶ οὐκ ἂν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ᾗς σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἐχοίμεν δικαίως. ἐμοὶ μὲν 15

δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θάυμαστον εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα, τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων, ὡς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν. Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρηνς δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη.

- 16 Ἄλλ' ἤδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γινώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλεύοις, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σταντῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὡς δ' ἂν μάθης, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασι-
- 17 λεί οὗτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίν-
- 18 δυνος ; ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδεῖων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν ; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁράτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἄπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὅποσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι ; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορευοίμεν.
- 19 εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, φ' ὑμεῖς οὐδ',
- 20 εἰ πάνν ἄγαθοι εἴητε, μάχεσθαι ἂν δύναισθε. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τούτου ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων
- 21 αἰσυχρός ; παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιουρκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε,

οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἔσμεν. ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς 22  
ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἦλθομεν ; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ  
ἐμὸς ἔρως τοῦτου αἵτιος τοῦ τοῖς "Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν  
γενέσθαι, καὶ ᾧ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῶ δια μισθοδοσίας  
πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυ-  
ρόν. ὅσα δέ μοι ὑμεῖς χρήσιμοι ἔσεσθε τὰ μὲν καὶ 23  
σὺ εἰπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ  
τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν,  
τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ  
ἑτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· 24  
καὶ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἷτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φι-  
λίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι  
πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἀξιοὶ εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ; Καὶ 25  
ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἱ τε  
στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω  
τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ  
τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω 26  
πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω.  
ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονού- 27  
μενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύνδει-  
πνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν  
ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δῆλός τ' ἦν πάννυ φιλικῶς οἰό-  
μενος διακείσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος  
ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρήναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνῃν  
οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν  
Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς "Ἑλ-  
λήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν δια- 28  
βάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγενημένον  
Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ  
ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν  
λαβὼν φίλος ᾗ Τισσαφέρνει. ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ 29  
Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν  
γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. τῶν

δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγούς μηδὲ πιστεῦειν Τισσαφέρνην· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγούς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.

31 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνηνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἰσω, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος, Μένων Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις 32 ἔμενον. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἳ τ' ἐνδον ξυνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ὥτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἕλλησι ἢ δούλῳ 33 ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ ὅ, τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφεγνύουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενη- 34 μένα. ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἤξειν 35 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοχος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεύς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνην ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γινώσκειν· ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν 36 τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἴη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασι- 37 λέως. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαινετος Στυμφάλιος, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Προξένου· Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὸν ἐν κώμῃ τιῇ ξὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἕστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. 38  
 Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιιορκῶν τε  
 ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέ-  
 θνηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ [ὁ]  
 βασιλεὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησιν,  
 ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. πρὸς ταῦτα 39  
 ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχο-  
 μένιος· ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι,  
 ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ'  
 ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους  
 καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει  
 τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας  
 αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἡμᾶς προδοδακότες ξὺν τοῖς πολεμοῖσι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχε-  
 σθε. ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε, Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπι- 40  
 βουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόντα,  
 καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ξὺν τούτοις. ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενο- 41  
 φῶν τάδε εἶπε. Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς  
 ὅρκους ἔλυσεν τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ  
 ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιιορκούντας· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μέ-  
 νων ἐπεὶ περ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι  
 δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι  
 φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ  
 ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν. πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρ- 42  
 βαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπήλθον  
 οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνήχθησαν 6  
 ὡς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύ-  
 τησαν, εἰς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ  
 πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων δόξας γενέσθαι  
 ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. καὶ 2  
 γὰρ δὴ ἕως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο,

- πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὡς οἱ Θρᾶκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου  
 3 καὶ Περίνθου Θραξίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες πῶς οἱ  
 ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπει-  
 ρῶντο ἐξ Ἴσθμου, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὄχχeto  
 4 πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ  
 φυγὰς ὧν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις  
 ἔπεισε Κύρον ἄλλη γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος  
 5 μυρίους δαρεικούς· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥαθυμίαν ἐτρά-  
 πετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στρά-  
 τευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραξί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν  
 διεγένετο μέχρι Κύρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε  
 6 δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὡς ξὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐ πολεμήσων. ταῦτα οὖν  
 φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἐξὸν  
 μὲν εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης αἰρεῖται  
 πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε  
 πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἰρεῖται  
 πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς  
 παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς  
 7 πόλεμον. οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· πολεμικὸς δὲ  
 αὐ ταύτῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνος τε ἦν καὶ  
 ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν  
 τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες  
 8 ὠμολόγουν. καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὡς δυνατὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, οἷον κακεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς  
 μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζεν ἦν, ὅπως ἔχοι ἢ  
 στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα,  
 ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποῖῃσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς πειστέον  
 9 εἶη Κλεάρχῳ. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι·  
 καὶ γὰρ ὀρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκό-  
 λαξέ τε αἰεὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίστε, ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ

μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολά-  
 στου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὕψελος εἶναι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιῶ- 10  
 την φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους,  
 εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξειν ἢ φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι ἢ  
 ἀπροφασίστως ἵεναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν μὲν 11  
 οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ  
 ἄλλον ἡρῶντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν  
 τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνε-  
 σθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαί-  
 νετο· ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς 12  
 ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον·  
 τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ χάρῃ οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' αἰὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ  
 ὤμός· ὥστε δέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ  
 παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλία μὲν καὶ 13  
 εὐνοία ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἷτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ  
 πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ  
 ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρέλησαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθο-  
 μένοις ἐχρήτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς 14  
 πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶ-  
 ναι τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς  
 πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ'  
 ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίει.  
 τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ 15  
 μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ  
 πεντήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθύς μὲν μειράκιον ὢν 16  
 ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός·  
 καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργία ἀργύριον  
 τῷ Λεοντίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομί- 17  
 σας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὢν τοῖς πρώτοις  
 μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν  
 Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα



- μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλά.  
 18 τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἔνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο  
 εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδι-  
 κίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων  
 19 τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν  
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ  
 ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνους, καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερόν  
 τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται  
 20 τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. ᾤετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν  
 εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν  
 δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν  
 καλοὶ τε κἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀδι-  
 κοὶ ἐπεβούλευον ὡς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέ-  
 θησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.
- 21 Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν  
 πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω  
 λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαῖνοι·  
 φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα  
 22 ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίῃ δίκην. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν  
 ἐπιθυμοίῃ συντομωτάτην ᾤετο ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπι-  
 ορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ' ἀπλοῦν  
 23 καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. στέρ-  
 γων δὲ φανερόν μὲν ἦν οὐδένᾳ, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίῃ φίλος  
 εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πο-  
 λεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων  
 24 ὡς καταγελῶν αἰετὶ διελέγετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολε-  
 μίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο  
 εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φί-  
 λων μόνος ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβά-  
 25 νειν. καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους  
 ὡς εὖ ὥπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλή-  
 θειαν ἀσκούσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειράτο χρῆσθαι.

ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ 26  
καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἠγάλλετο τῷ ἑξαπατᾶν  
δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῆ, τῷ φίλους διαγελᾶν.  
τὸν δὲ μὴ πανούργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν αἰεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶ-  
ναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλίᾳ,  
διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τούτους φετο δὲ κτήσα-  
σθαι. τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι 27  
ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμψυχᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ  
καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὅτι πλεῖστα  
δύνατο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέ-  
λεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίστατο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ  
οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι 28  
περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τὰδ' ἐστὶ  
παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διε-  
πράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι  
μειρακίοις καλοῖς ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν  
ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὢν  
γενειῶντα. ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατηγῶν, ὅτι 29  
ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ξὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιη-  
κὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον  
στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ  
ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέν-  
τες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὥσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι,  
ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς  
τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.

Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ 30  
τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὥς ἐν πολέμῳ  
κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φίλῳ αὐτοὺς ἐμέμ-  
φετο. ἦσθην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα  
ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

## BOOK III.

- 1 "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ  
 "Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ  
 Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο ἀπionτων τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν  
 2 λόγῳ δεδήλωται. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημ-  
 μένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ  
 συνεπόμενοι ἀπολώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοούμενοι μὲν, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως  
 θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη  
 καὶ πόλεις πολέμιοι ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέ-  
 ξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ  
 μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ  
 δὲ διείργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκάδε ὁδοῦ, προῦ-  
 3 δεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρ-  
 βαροι, μόνον δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἵππεα  
 οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες, ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν, ὅτι νικῶν-  
 τες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν  
 3 οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθεῖη. ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως  
 ἔχοντες ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύ-  
 σαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολ-  
 λοι οὐκ ἤλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου  
 ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεῦδειν ὑπὸ λύπης  
 καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γυνέων, γυναικῶν, παιδων, οὐδ'  
 οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακει-  
 μένοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.
- 4 Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς  
 οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὦν  
 συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο ὁ-  
 κοθεν ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι,  
 φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσῃν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω

ἑαυτῷ νομίζῃ τῆς πατρίδος. ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀνα- 5  
 γνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινούται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθη-  
 ναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας  
 μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέ-  
 σθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις  
 ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενο-  
 φῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ  
 τῆς πορείας. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρето τὸν Ἀπόλ- 6  
 λω, τίς ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστ' ἂν καὶ  
 ἄριστα ἐλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας  
 σωθεῖη. καὶ ἀνείλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοὺς οἷς ἔδει  
 θύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ 7  
 Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιάτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο  
 πρῶτον ἡρώτα, πότερον λῶον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ  
 μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο,  
 ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη. ἐπεὶ μὲντοι οὕτως ἦρου, 8  
 ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ μὲν  
 δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω, θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνείλεν ὁ θεός, ἐξέ-  
 πλει καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Προξένου καὶ Κύ-  
 ρου μέλλοντας ἡδὴ ὀρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη  
 Κύρῳ. προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κύρος 9  
 συμπροϋθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν  
 τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψειν αὐτόν.  
 ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. ἐστρατεύετο 10  
 μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ  
 ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὀρμὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μὲντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν  
 ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἡδὴ ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη  
 ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν καὶ ἄκοντες  
 ὁμῶς οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου  
 συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 11  
 ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύ-  
 νατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὑπναῖ· λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ.  
 ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς

- τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν.
- 12 περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὦν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβείτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλω δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν.
- 13 ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίνυται γὰρ τάδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει, τί κατὰκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἤξει. εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας ὑβρίζομένους ἀπο-
- 14 θανεῖν; ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἥσυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσο-
- 15 μαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξεν, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οὐδ'
- 16 ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐσμέν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἐαυτῶν παρσκευάσθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμε-
- 17 λείται, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑφησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὃς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκοτος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς

δούλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντας καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες,  
 εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἴομεθα παθεῖν; ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ 18  
 πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὥς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσθαι ποτε ἐπ'  
 αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα  
 ποιητέον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, 19  
 οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτεῖρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ  
 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὄσσην  
 μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὥς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,  
 ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθήτα  
 δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε ἐνθυμολίμην, ὅτι 20  
 τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετελή, εἰ μὴ  
 πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἥδειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχον-  
 τας, ἄλλως δὲ πῶς πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνου-  
 μένους ὄρκους ἥδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογι-  
 ζόμενος ἐνόητε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν  
 τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπον- 21  
 δάς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ  
 ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἥδη κείται ταῦτα τὰ  
 ἀγαθὰ ἀθλα ὅπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν,  
 ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,  
 ἔσονται. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς 22  
 δὲ πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ στεργῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα  
 διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους. ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ  
 ἵέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ  
 τούτοις. ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἰκανώτερα τούτων 23  
 καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάληπῃ καὶ πόνους φέρου· ἔχομεν δὲ  
 καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ  
 τρωτοὶ καὶ θρητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοί, ὥσπερ  
 τὸ πρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ 24  
 ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμέ-  
 νωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔλθειν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ  
 κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμήσαι  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν. φάνητε τῶν λοχα-

γῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι.  
 25 κἀγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἐπε-  
 σθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι,  
 οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζω  
 ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.

26 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες  
 ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης  
 τις ἦν βοιωτιάων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, ὅτι φλυα-  
 ροίη ὅστις λέγοι ἄλλως πῶς σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ  
 βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναιτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν

27 τὰς ἀπορίας· ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφὼν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν  
 ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ὡς θανμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σὺ γε οὐδὲ  
 ὁρῶν γυγνώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταύτῳ γε  
 μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέ-  
 θανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπων ἐκέλευε παρα-

28 διδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ'  
 ἐξωπλισμένοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ  
 ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αὐτῶν καὶ  
 29 παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; ἐπεὶ  
 δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις,

εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον πιστεύσαντες ταῖς  
 σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκείνοι παύμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβρι-  
 ζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ',  
 οἶμαι, ἐρώντες τούτου; ἂ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν  
 ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν

30 κελεύεις ἰόντας; ἐμοὶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρω-  
 πον τούτον μήτε προσέσθαι εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκευὴ ἀναθέντας ὥς  
 τοιοῦτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κατα-  
 σχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἑλληνας ὦν τοι-

31 οὗτός ἐστιν. ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος  
 εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν  
 εἶδον ὥσπερ Δυδὸν ἀμφότερα τὰ ὅτα τετραπλημένον.

καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ 32  
 ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς  
 σῶος εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὅπου δὲ οὐ-  
 χοῖτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος  
 εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνήλθον, εἰς τὸ 33  
 πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συν-  
 ελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν.  
 ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. ἐνταῦθα 34  
 Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλείος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξένου  
 λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρα-  
 τηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς  
 συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα  
 εἴ τι δυνάμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σύ, ὦ  
 Ξενοφών, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε  
 Ξενοφών. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, 35  
 ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν  
 συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβου-  
 λεύουσιν, ὥς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε,  
 οἶμαι, πάντα ποιητέα ὥς μήποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις  
 γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ'  
 ἡμῖν. εὐ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, 36  
 ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ  
 στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, καὶ  
 μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἣν  
 δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλήτε, εὐ ἴστε  
 ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσσονται μιμῆσθαι. ἴσως 37  
 δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων.  
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχα-  
 γοί, καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς  
 τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός  
 ἔστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλή-  
 λους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονέειν  
 ἢν που δέη. καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς 38



μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὥς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὥς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντά-  
 39 πασι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε  
 40 πάντας ἀρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάντῃ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 αἰσθάνεσθε, ὥς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύ-  
 41 μως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ, τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι  
 42 εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὥς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς  
 43 θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχον-  
 44 ται. ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὅποσοι μὲν μαστεύουσιν ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς  
 πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶς ὥς ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον  
 ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις,  
 45 περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους καὶ ἔως  
 ἂν ζώσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. ἂ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ  
 νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμεν, αὐ-  
 τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρα-  
 45 καλεῖν. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον  
 εἶπε Χειρίσοφος, Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, το-  
 σοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγὼ γνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναίων  
 εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινώ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ

πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείους εἶναι τοιού-  
τους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ 46  
μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρείσθε οἱ  
δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἦκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ  
στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ  
συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δ'  
ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κήρυξ. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰ 47  
πῶν ἀνέστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινοῖτο τὰ  
δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρ-  
χου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθι-  
κλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς, ἀντὶ  
δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξε-  
νοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέβαινε καὶ εἰς 2  
τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προ-  
φύλακας καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας.  
ἔπει δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνήλθον, ἀνέστη  
πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν  
ὥδε. ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, 2  
ὁπότε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ  
λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ  
Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν  
ἡμᾶς· ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς 3  
τε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι, ὅπως,  
ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μὴ,  
ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε  
γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς  
τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε, 4  
Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτορκίαν  
καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν,  
ἵστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ  
γλειστον ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
ὕτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπα-

- τήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ᾗδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τοῖτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν.
- 5 Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ᾗθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κύρον τὸν τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς
- 6 ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειράται. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο, ὃ, τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, πᾶσχειν.
- 7 Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρόπεν, εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν τοῦ λόγου
- 8 δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἵεναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λουπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵεναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ
- 9 σωτηρίας. τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυνται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων, οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήριον ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φίλιαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύχασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

δύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταύτ', ἔφη, ἀνα-  
 τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου  
 εὗξαντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς  
 εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων, ὅτι πολ- 10  
 λαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους,  
 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς  
 μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμ-  
 μάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχύ  
 μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κὰν ἐν δεινοῖς ὣσι,  
 σώξειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνή- 11  
 σω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὡς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει  
 εἶναι) σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν  
 οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς  
 Ἀθήνας, ὑποστήναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες  
 ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὀπό- 12  
 σους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας  
 καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδο-  
 ξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγεί- 13  
 ρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων  
 προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι  
 μὲν τεκμήρια ὄραν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον  
 ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ  
 ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς  
 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. οὐ 14  
 μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὡς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς·  
 ἱλλ' οὕτω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τού-  
 τοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
 νικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς 15

- Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολλὴ δῆπου ὑμᾶς προσηκεὶ καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι.
- 16 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὀρώντες ὁμῶς ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὅποτε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλὰ πλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει
- 17 τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; μὴδὲ μέντοι τούτο μείον δόξῃτε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολλὴ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμέ-
- 18 τέρᾳ τάξει ὄραν. εἰ δέ τις αὖ ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἵππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεσιν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοι εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ, τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
- 19 γίγνηται. οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἵππέων πολλὴ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμονται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολλὴ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσίῃ, πολλὴ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἵππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν
- 20 ἢ ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλευὼν ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὗς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγήσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἰσονται, ἅτι, ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτά-

νωσι, περὶ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἁμαρτάνουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον <sup>21</sup>  
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἣς οὗτοι παρῆχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἥνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους, ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, <sup>22</sup>  
 τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγείσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε, εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, ἦν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν, <sup>23</sup>  
 ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανέεται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσούς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ χώρᾳ πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. καὶ ἡμᾶς <sup>24</sup>  
 δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσουτας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίῃ, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδύλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρεῖς ἄσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα, μή, <sup>25</sup>  
 ἂν ἄπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ <sup>26</sup>  
 δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν

οἰκοὶ ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλου-  
 σίους ὄραν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ  
 27 δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν,  
 πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθά τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καί, εἰ μάχε-  
 σθαι δέοι, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοί-  
 νυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἃς ἔχομεν,  
 ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα  
 ὅπη ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς  
 συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν  
 ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ'  
 28 εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου  
 ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι μὲν  
 ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφο-  
 ρῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα  
 ἀλλότρια· ἣν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ  
 29 σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν  
 ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον,  
 νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθο-  
 μένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ,  
 λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία  
 30 ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς  
 ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρας γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρό-  
 σθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πει-  
 31 θομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. ἣν δὲ  
 τις ἀπειθῇ, ἣν ψηφίσῃσθε τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα  
 σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον  
 ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄφου-  
 ται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας  
 32 κακῷ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως  
 γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα  
 δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ

120  
76  
75

περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολματω  
καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας  
δεόμεθα.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν, 'Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος 33  
ἄλλον δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα  
ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἶρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα  
ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνα-  
τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἀναστὰς δὲ 34  
πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, 'Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν  
δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἐξο-  
μεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ  
πλείον ἐῖκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας· οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαν- 35  
μάξοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς  
μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἣν δύνωνται,  
τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιού-  
σιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πο- 36  
ρεύεσθαι πλασίον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ  
σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολλὸς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾖ. εἰ  
οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖη, τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου  
καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν  
ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε  
οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεοί, ἀλλὰ χρὴ  
μεθ' ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις 37  
βέλτιον ὀρά, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν  
ἡγεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστί· τῶν δὲ πλευ-  
ρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυτάτων στρατηγῶ ἐπιμε-  
λεισθῶν· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ  
τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι 38  
ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὅ, τι ἂν αἰετὶ κράτιστον  
δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὀρά βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν, "Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατει-  
νάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, 39  
ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν  
τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς



μέγα ὄνῃσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε ὅπως  
 ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολαλότων ὡς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ  
 λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐ-  
 δὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συν-  
 ελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντά-  
 πασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία  
 30 πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε  
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρα-  
 τιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς  
 40 πάντῃ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς  
 αἰσθάνεσθε, ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀθύ-  
 μως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ  
 οἶδα ὃ, τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι  
 41 εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας,  
 ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 42 τί ποιήσουσι, πολλὸν εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. ἐπίστασθε  
 γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ  
 πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς  
 θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχον-  
 43 ται. ἐντεθύμηναι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι,  
 ὁπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσιν ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς  
 πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον  
 ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις,  
 περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους  
 ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους καὶ ἔως  
 44 ἂν ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. ἂ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ  
 νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιοῦτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἔσμεν, αὐ-  
 τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρα-  
 45 καλεῖν. | ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τούτων  
 εἶπε Χεῖρίσοφος, Ἄλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, το-  
 σοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγὼ γνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον  
 εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ

πράττεις, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιού-  
 τους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ 46  
 μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρείσθε οἱ  
 δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἦκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ  
 συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρῆστω δ'  
 ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κήρυξ. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰ- 47  
πὼν ἀνέστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαίνουτο τὰ  
 δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἠρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρ-  
 χου Τιμασίῳ Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθι-  
 κλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς, ἀντὶ  
 δὲ Μένωρος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξε-  
 νοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε καὶ εἰς 2  
 τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προ-  
 φύλακας καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη  
 πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν  
 ὧδε. Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, 2  
 ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ  
 λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ  
 Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν  
 ἡμᾶς· ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς 3  
 γε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ πειραῖσθαι, ὅπως,  
 ἢ μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή,  
 ἰλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριον δὲ μηδέποτε  
 γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς  
 οἰαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.  
 πλὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. 4  
 Ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτοκίαν  
 αἰ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν,  
 τις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ  
 λείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ὑτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἔξαπα-

- τήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἡδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν.
- 5 Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δέσας οὔτε Κύρον τὸν τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζώντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς
- 6 ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρώντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο, ὃ, τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, πάσχειν.
- 7 Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφὼν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρέπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου
- 8 δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιτορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρώντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἳα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοοῦμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰι ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰι ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ
- 9 σωτηρίας. τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μᾶ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ Ξενοφὼν εἶπε, Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων, οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήριον ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς

δύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῃ δοκεῖ ταύτ', ἔφη, ἀνα-  
 τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου  
 εὗξαντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς  
 εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε. Ἐτύγγχανον λέγων, ὅτι πολ- 10  
 λαὶ καὶ καλαὶ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἰεν σωτηρίας. πρῶτον  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους,  
 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασί τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ  
 τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς  
 μὲν πολεμίους ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμ-  
 μάχους, οἷπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ  
 μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὥσι,  
 σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνή- 11  
 σω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὥς ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει  
 εἶναι χρώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν  
 οἱ ἀγαθοί· ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ ὥς ἀφανιούντων αὖθις τὰς  
 Ἀθήνας, ὑποστήναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες  
 ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὀπό- 12  
 σους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας  
 καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδο-  
 ξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας δύνειν, καὶ ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγεί- 13  
 ρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
 καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων  
 προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὣν ἔστι  
 μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον  
 ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ  
 ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς  
 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. τοιούτων μὲν ἔσθε προγόνων. οὐ 14  
 μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς·  
 ἰλλ' οὐπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τού-  
 τοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν  
 νικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς 15

- Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε  
περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺν δῆπον  
ὑμᾶς προσηκεὶ καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι.
- 16 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς  
τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν  
τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὀρώντες ὁμῶς ἐτολμήσατε σὺν  
τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὅποτε  
καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλὰ  
πλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει
- 17 τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; μὴδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξῃτε  
ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν  
ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ'  
ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους κατα-  
λιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δὲ θέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ  
κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμε-
- 18 τέρᾳ τάξει ὄραν. εἰ δέ τις αὖ ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν  
μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἵππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρε-  
σιν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ  
μύριοι εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ  
οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν,  
οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ, τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
- 19 γήνηται. οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἵππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφα-  
λεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέ-  
μανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ  
καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν  
ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον  
ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν  
οἱ ἵππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν
- 20 ἢ ἡμῖν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐ-  
κέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν  
παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον  
Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλευὼν ἡμῖν φα-  
νερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὗς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγείσθαι  
κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἰσονται, ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτὰ-

νωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρείττον 21  
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἣς οὗτοι παρῆχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢ ὑπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους, ὅπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρείττονα, 22  
 τοὺς δὲ ποταμούς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε, εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, ἦν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν, 23  
 ἡγεμών τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανέται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοὺς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίημεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. καὶ ἡμᾶς 24  
 δ' ἂν ἔφη ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσουντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίῃ, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὀμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρεῖς ἄσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα, μή, 25  
 ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὀμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ 26  
 δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν

οἰκοὶ ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλου-  
 σίους ὄρᾱν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ  
 27 δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν,  
 πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθ' αὖτε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καί, εἰ μάχε-  
 σθαι δεοί, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοί-  
 νυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, ἃς ἔχομεν,  
 ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευόμεθα  
 ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς  
 συγκατακαῦσαι. αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν  
 ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ'  
 28 εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου  
 ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι μὲν  
 ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφο-  
 ρῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα  
 ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ  
 29 σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. λοιπὸν μοι εἰπὲν  
 ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς  
 ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον,  
 νομίζοντες ὅτι τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθο-  
 μένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περυγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ,  
 λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχόντας ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία  
 30 ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς  
 ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρας γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρό-  
 σθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πει-  
 31 θομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. ἦν δέ  
 τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσθησθε τὸν αἰὲ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα  
 σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλείστον  
 ἐψευσεμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄφον-  
 ται ἀνθ' ἑνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέφοντας  
 32 κακῷ εἶναι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινέειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως  
 γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα  
 δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ

περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολματω  
καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας  
δεόμεθα.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος 33  
ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα  
ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἶρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα  
ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνα-  
τεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἀναστὰς δὲ 34  
πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδεῖν  
δοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξο-  
μεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κώμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ  
πλείον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας· οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαν- 35  
μάξοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς  
μὲν παρίοντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἣν δύνωνται,  
τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιού-  
σιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πο- 36  
ρεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ  
σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ᾖ. εἰ  
οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθῇ, τίνα χρὴ ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου  
καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν  
ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε  
οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεοί, ἀλλὰ χρώ-  
μεθ' ἂν εὐθύς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις 37  
βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν  
ἡγεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐστὶ· τῶν δὲ πλευ-  
ρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυτάτων στρατηγῶ ἐπιμε-  
λίσθω· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγώ  
τε καὶ Τιμασίω, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι 38  
ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα ὅ, τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον  
δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν, Ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατει-  
νάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, 39  
ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν  
τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς



εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμῇ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμῇ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.

- 3 Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν οὗτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδωσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἅλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος
- 2 τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὐνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμι σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με, τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε, ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν
- 3 τὸν στόλον ποιῆσθαι. βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐὰν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ
- 4 ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἐνθα δὲ ἐγυγνώσκετο, ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτos εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει
- 5 πίστewς ἔνεκα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδoκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι, ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἕνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὥχeτο ἀπὼν νικτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζα- 6  
 πάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια  
 καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προελη-  
 λυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἰπ-  
 πέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας  
 ὡς τετρακοσίους μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. καὶ 7  
 προσῆι μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ  
 δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἔξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ  
 ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ  
 δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς,  
 ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν  
 Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων  
 κατεκέκλειντο, οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον  
 ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. ἐκ τούτου Ξενο- 8  
 φῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὀπλι-  
 τῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθο-  
 φυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν  
 πολεμίων. οὔτε γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὔτε 9  
 οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο  
 καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷον  
 τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. οἱ δὲ 10  
 βάρβαροι ἰππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς  
 τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅποσον δὲ προ-  
 διώξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσούτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν  
 μαχομένους ἔδει. ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ 11  
 πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο  
 εἰς τὰς κώμας. ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρί-  
 σοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα  
 ᾗτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φαλαγγος καὶ αὐτὸς τε  
 ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνάτο  
 θλάπτειν. ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς 12  
 ᾗτιῶντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροῖ. ἀλλ'  
 ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν  
 γῇ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ

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12

128

1 *δυναμένους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς*  
*λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα*  
 14 *τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. τοῖς*  
*οὖν θεοῖς χάρις, ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν*  
*ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι*  
 15 *δὲ ὧν δεόμεθα. νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι τοξεύουσι*  
*καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν*  
*δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι.*  
*ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον*  
*ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ*  
*ταχὺς εἴη πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου*  
 16 *ρύματος. ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε*  
*μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονη-*  
*τῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἰππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι*  
*ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς*  
*φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ*  
 17 *διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. ἐκεῖ-*  
*ναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν*  
*ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνούνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυ-*  
 18 *βδίσι ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκε-*  
*ψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν*  
*δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι*  
*ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντετα-*  
*γμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως*  
 19 *τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ*  
*ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινας παρ'*  
*ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς*  
*δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν*  
*τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν,*  
*τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἰππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ*  
 20 *οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. ἔδοξε ταῦτα.*  
*καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους*  
*ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἰππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστε-*  
*ραῖα εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς*

ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Δύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύ- 4  
οντο πρωιαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς  
ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς  
διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς 2  
πάλιν φαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἔχων ἱππείας χιλίους,  
τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· το-  
σούτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην καὶ ἔλαβεν, ὑποσχό-  
μενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλ-  
ληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ  
ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε  
ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπείχον 3  
τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ  
Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελτο δὲ τῶν  
τε πελταστών οὗς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ  
τοῖς ἱππεύσιν εἶρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφεσφομένης  
ικανῆς δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει 4  
καὶ ἤδη σφενδῶναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε  
τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς  
εἶρητο καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ'  
ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς 5  
βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱπ-  
πέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωὴ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα.  
τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκί-  
σαντο, ὥς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὁρᾶν.  
καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ 6  
Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας  
ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τύγρητα ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα πόλις 7  
ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ὥκουν  
δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς  
τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ  
δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠκοδόμητο δὲ  
τλίνθοις κεραμίταις· κρητὶς δ' ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ τὸ ὕψος

- 8 εἴκοσι ποδῶν. ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο εἰλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως
- 9 ἔαλω. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἑνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλη-
- 10 σίων κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας ἕξ, πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα πρὸς [τῇ] πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ὥκουν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντή-
- 11 κοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπικοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μῆδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν
- 12 ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ εἰλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας, καὶ οὕτως ἔαλω.
- 13 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα, παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὗς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος καὶ οὗς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὗς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμ-
- 14 πολυ ἐφάνη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν.
- 15 ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ [Σκύθαι] τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀν-

δρός, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προϋθυμείτο ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ  
 Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ  
 ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ 16  
 μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίοντο οἱ  
 βάρβαροι [τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει]· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ  
 Ῥόδιοι τῶν τε Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων  
 τοξοτῶν. μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν· 17  
 ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων  
 τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων  
 τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν.  
 εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μό-  
 λυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας. καὶ ταύτῃ 18  
 μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μείων ἔχον-  
 τες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν  
 ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολλὸς  
 σῆτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ  
 τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος.  
 ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσὸπλευρον 19  
 πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γάρ  
 ἐστίν, ἦν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου ἢ  
 ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύ-  
 ρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονή-  
 ρως ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους·  
 ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη ἀτάκτους ὄντας. ὅταν 20  
 δ' αὖ διασχῇ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε  
 ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κερά-  
 των, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐπομένων. καὶ ὅποτε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην  
 τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι  
 πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαντο 21  
 λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν  
 καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας.

οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοί, ὅποτε μὲν συγκύπτοι  
 τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς  
 22 κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. ὅποτε  
 δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἂν  
 ἐξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ  
 λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς, εἰ δὲ  
 πάνυ πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι  
 23 τὸ μέσον. εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ  
 γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ  
 διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρή-  
 24 σαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς  
 βασιλείῳ τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κόμας πολλὰς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν  
 πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γυγνομέ-  
 νην, οἱ καθήκαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕψους, ὕψ' ᾧ ἦν κόμη. καὶ  
 εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκός,  
 25 τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ  
 τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γηλόφον καὶ  
 κατέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπι-  
 γίνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρα-  
 26 νὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων, καὶ  
 πολλοὺς κατετίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 γυμνῶν καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰσω τῶν ὅπλων·  
 ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀχρηστοὶ ἦσαν  
 ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται.  
 27 ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν,  
 σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὀπλίται ὄντες,  
 28 οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. πάλιν δὲ ὅποτε ἀπί-  
 οιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον, καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρα-  
 τιώτας, πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου  
 ἀνῆγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι  
 ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετί-

θεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοκότες, μὴ  
 ἀποτμηθεῖσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ  
 πολέμοι. οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ 30  
 μὲν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος  
 ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέ-  
 στησαν ὁκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. ἐνταῦ- 31  
 θα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα καὶ  
 ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπ-  
 ποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηργημένα  
 ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα  
 καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐ- 32  
 τοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ  
 ἀνάγκη κατασκηνησάει οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κόμην καὶ μὴ  
 πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπό-  
 μαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ  
 τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκή- 33  
 νησαν καὶ ἐπεχέλησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρ-  
 βαροι πρὸς τὴν κόμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιήσαν οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον ἐκ χώρας ὀρμωμένους  
 ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμοῖς μά-  
 χεσθαι. ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δέλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς 34  
 πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ  
 θάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβού-  
 μενοι, μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς.  
 τὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἱ τε 35  
 ἄρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεπο-  
 ισμένοι εἰσὶ τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα, εἰ λυθείσαν, ἂν  
 εἰ τις θόρυβος γήγηται, δεῖ ἐπιστάξει τὸν ἵππον Πέρ-  
 η ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀνα-  
 ἦναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ  
 εἰ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν  
 ἐν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγίνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλλη- 36  
 ς βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελομένους, ἐκήρυξε  
 ἕς Ἑλληνὶ συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκονόντων τῶν πολεμίων.



καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀψέ ἐγίνετο, ἀπῆσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατὰγεσθαι ἐπὶ 37 τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναξεύξαντες καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πε- 38 δίον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίτοφος προκατελιγμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ 39 πρόσθεν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἡρώτα, Τί καλεῖς ; ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· προκατελιγνται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι 40 παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς ; ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἄλλα μὴν ὦρα γ', ἔφη, βουλευέσθαι, πῶς τις 41 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφὼν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ λέγει, Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε ἡμῖν ἔσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ 42 τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. Ἄλλα δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφὼν, ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι,

κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας·  
μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. καὶ ὁ Χειρί- 43  
σοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς·  
ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι  
δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε  
τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου. ἐντεῦ- 44  
θεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ  
λόφου πολέμοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἄκρον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλλη- 45  
νικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ  
δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακε-  
λευομένων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου 46  
παρεκελεύετο, Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε  
ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,  
νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσό-  
μεθα. Σωτηρίδης δὲ ὁ Σικυνώνιος εἶπεν, Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, 47  
ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὄχῃ, ἐγὼ  
δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. καὶ οὗς ἀκού- 48  
σας ταῦτα καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὠθεῖται αὐ-  
τὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς  
ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ  
Θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἵππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς  
μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν  
παριέναι μόλις ἐπομένους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται 49  
παίουσιν καὶ βάλλουσιν καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν τὸν Σωτηρίδην,  
ἵστε ἡνῶγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ  
δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἤγεεν,  
ἵππεϊ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε  
τεῖξῃ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς  
τολεμίους.

Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ 5  
καστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ  
ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην

- οὐδὲν ὄνυχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κώμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τύγρητα ποταμόν. ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δειλὴ, ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν.
- 3 ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καλεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοοῦμενοι, μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καλοῖεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὀπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις, ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληες, ἔλεγεν, Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληες, ὑφίεντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἂ γάρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττοντο, μὴ καλεῖν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν ὡς ἄλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλίπωσί γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
- 6 ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶττον παύσονται.
- 7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις
- 8 τοῦ βάθους. ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβᾶσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὧν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε.

ἐρωτώμενος δὲ οὐτον δέοιτο, Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίαν 9  
 δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρώ ταῦτα πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας  
 καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥα-  
 δίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν 10  
 δεσμῶν οἷς χρήσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας  
 τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν  
 λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ,  
 διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ  
 γῆν ἐπιφορήσω· ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα 11  
 μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ  
 καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ  
 σχήσει. ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐν- 12  
 θύμημα χάριεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον·  
 ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἰππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς  
 τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων πρᾶν. ἐν- 13  
 ταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαιλιν  
 [ἦ] πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατα-  
 καύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήρσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμοι οὐ προσή-  
 λαυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θανμάζειν, ὅποι  
 ποτὲ τρέφονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχουσιν.  
 ἔνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια 14  
 ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνήλθον,  
 καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ  
 γὰσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰ 15  
 μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μη-  
 ρίαν, δι' ἣσπερ ἦκοιεν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑὼ ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ  
 Εκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγετα·  
 βασιλεὺς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν  
 πρὸς Λυδίας καὶ Ἰωνίας φέροι, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὁρέων καὶ  
 πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι.  
 οὗτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς 16  
 εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν  
 ὅτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα μυριάδας·  
 οὗτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν.

ὅποτε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ  
 σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους  
 17 καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρα-  
 τηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκασταχόσε φάσκοντας  
 εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες, ὅποι πορεύεσθαι  
 ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι  
 διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβαλεῖν· τούτους γὰρ  
 διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας  
 ἤρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεύθεν δ' εὐπορον  
 18 ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. ἐπὶ τού-  
 τοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὅπηνیکا καὶ δοκοῖη τῆς ὥρας, τὴν  
 πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδε-  
 δοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ  
 δειπνήσαιεν, συνεσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι,  
 καὶ ἔπεσθαι, ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

## BOOK IV.

- 1 "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς  
 μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ὡς  
 βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐσπεί-  
 σαντο, καὶ ὅσα παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ  
 Τισσαφέρνους ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακο-  
 λουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρό-  
 2 σθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν  
 Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος  
 καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια  
 ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει  
 δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι.  
 3 ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ὅτι, εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρ-  
 δούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος  
 ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ

βούλονται, περίλασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πη-  
 γὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τύγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν  
 οὕτως ἔχον. τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε 4  
 ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι  
 πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα. ἐπειδὴ ἦν 5  
 ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς  
 ὅσον σκοταλοὺς διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάν-  
 τες ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνούνται ἅμα  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. ἔνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγείτο 6  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυ-  
 μνήτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν  
 ὀπλίταις εἶπετο οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίν-  
 δυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει 7  
 Χειρίσοφος πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα  
 δ' ὑψηγείτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρα-  
 τεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυ-  
 χοῖς τῶν ὀρέων. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδούχοι ἐκλιπόντες 8  
 τὰς οἰκίας ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἔφευγον  
 ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν,  
 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμέναι  
 αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀν-  
 θρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν  
 οἱ Καρδούχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὥς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας,  
 ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν· τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, 9  
 ἤτω τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ  
 δὲ Καρδούχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο  
 βελικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλ- 10  
 λήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη  
 σκοταῖοι, διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν  
 ἡμέραν ἡ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ βασις εἰς  
 τὰς κώμας, τότε δὴ συλλεγόντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων  
 οἷς τελευταῖοις ἐπέθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας καὶ  
 λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες·

- ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.  
 11 εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευεν ἂν  
 διαφθάρῃαι πολλὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν  
 τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἡύλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ  
 12 Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων  
 καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι  
 τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν  
 τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι  
 ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰλλα, καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νεωστὶ  
 αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι.  
 13 σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ  
 ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει  
 πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων.  
 δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.  
 14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπιστάντες ἐν  
 στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ  
 ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο, οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι  
 ἔκλεψεν, οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν  
 εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύ-  
 15 θησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπανόμενοι.  
 εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμὼν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον  
 δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ  
 ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν.  
 16 καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων  
 τῶν χωρίων ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδό-  
 νων· ὥστε ἀναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ  
 πάλιν ἀναγκάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θάμινά  
 παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμοι  
 17 ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν,  
 ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ'  
 ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἐπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν,  
 ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἴη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι  
 τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ

Amor

ἐγγίγντο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει 18  
 ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς  
 ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίλας  
 Ἀρκὰς διαμπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο 19  
 ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς  
 τὸν Χειρίσοφον ἠτιᾶτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο  
 καλῶ τε κἀγαθῶ ἄνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι  
 οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος, 20  
 Βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἰδέ, ὡς ἄβατα πάντα  
 ἐστί· μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁρᾶς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
 ἀνθρώπων ὄρεῖν ἔξεστί σοι ὅχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατει-  
 ληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἐκβασιν. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευ- 21  
 δον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἰ πως δυναίμην  
 φθάσαι πρὶν κατεῖληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἳ δ' ἡγε-  
 υῖνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασὶν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ 22  
 Ξενοφῶν λέγει, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ  
 ἡμῖν πράγματα παρῆχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς  
 καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναντες τινὰς αὐ-  
 τῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τοῦτον  
 ἵκεν, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσαιμεθα.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤλεγχον δια- 23  
 αβόντες, εἰ τινα εἶδειεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν.  
 μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων  
 ῥοσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶν-  
 ρος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατεσφάγη. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν, ὅτι 24  
 ἕτος μὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φαίη εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε  
 ὑγάτῃρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη  
 γήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν.  
 ὠτῶμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάρειτον χωρίον, 25  
 ἢ εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον  
 εἶναι παρελθεῖν. ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας 26  
 ῥαγούσας καὶ πελταστας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λέγειν τε  
 παρόντα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν, εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἄνθρωπος



ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντῆς πο-  
 27 ρεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστάνυμος  
 Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς,  
 ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος Ἀρ-  
 κὰς καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐθε-  
 λοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη,  
 οἶδα, ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου.  
 28 ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρ-  
 χων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστεὺς Χίως,  
 δς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἀξίος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ἐγένετο.

- 2 Καὶ ἦν μὲν δέλην ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφα-  
 γόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παρα-  
 δίδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἦν  
 λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄν-  
 τας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται
- 2 τάχιστα. ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πληθὺς  
 ὡς δισχιλίοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολλὸν ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν  
 δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν  
 ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν
- 3 τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιμόντες. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἔδει δια-  
 βάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίν-  
 δουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαλοὺς καὶ μεῖζους  
 καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίοντες  
 διεσφειδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶον
- 4 τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ  
 δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι  
 σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίνοντες,  
 τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάρι-  
 στοὶ ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι  
 πολέμιοι, [φοβούμενοι δὴλον ὅτι,] οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι'

ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδρῶντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρε-  
 σθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύ- 5  
 κλω περιούντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ  
 πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακάνοντες τοὺς δὲ  
 καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέ-  
 χοντες. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐ- 6  
 τῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ  
 φύλακες. ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα 7  
 ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν, ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ  
 γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ  
 ἀλαλάξαντες ἵεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι  
 ὑπέβησκον· εὐζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσο- 8  
 ρον ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος εὐθὺς ἵεντο ἄνω κατὰ  
 τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ  
 ἱτρίβεις ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ  
 ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι.  
 καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ 9  
 ὄριον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς  
 μίσσεις ἐπορεύετο ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐο-  
 ωτάτη γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὀπι-  
 θεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχά- 10  
 νουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατεῖλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ  
 ὧν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀν' ἐπορεύθησαν  
 περ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη  
 βῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσ- 11  
 ἵλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ  
 ἴκλω, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἀφοδὸν τοῖς πολεμίους, εἰ  
 δύλουντο φεύγειν. καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνον- 12  
 υς ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστός οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ

ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουσιν  
 τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 καὶ ἕτερον ὁρώσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ  
 13 τοῦτον αὖτις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενο-  
 φῶν, μὴ, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον,  
 καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐπιβοῶντο τοῖς ὑπο-  
 ζυγίοις παριούσιν, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια ἅτε διὰ  
 στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα, καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου  
 λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφώντος Ἀθηναίου καὶ  
 Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναίου καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν  
 Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο  
 ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦ-  
 14 τον αἰρούσιν. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν  
 πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθεί-  
 15 σης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι  
 ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θουμαστόν πᾶσι γενέσθαι  
 καὶ ὑπώπτευν δέισαντας αὐτούς, μὴ κυκλωθέντες  
 πολιορκοῦντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου  
 καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 16 ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς  
 νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμί-  
 ξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ  
 17 θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν  
 Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκό-  
 πησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾷσι Κηφι-  
 σόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι  
 κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο.  
 18 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντί-  
 πορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς  
 δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆται.  
 19 οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς κώμας.  
 συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο

στράτευμα παρήει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεσώρευσαν. ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ 20 μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν· Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεύς Ἀρκὰς 21 προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπήλθον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο 22 ὃ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ αἰαῖς οἰκταῖς καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖσι δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὃν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ 23 αἱ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεορούς ἀπέδωσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράων ἀγαθοῖς. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· 24 ἡχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ὅπη εἶη στενὸν χωρίον καταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. ὁπότε 25 οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὀπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς κώτοις ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόνων, ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐπιβοῶντο, Χειρίσοφος 26 βαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόνων ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὀπίεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς λήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς 27 ἰβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πᾶσα καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγένεον φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ αἰαὶ καὶ σφενδόνας· ἀριστοὶ δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον 28 τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ

διτήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξεύουεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἄριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες· τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

- 3 Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπεῖχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν
- 2 Καρδούχων. τότε μὲν οὖν ἠύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τὰπιτήδεα ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.
- 3 Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππεῖς που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων ὡς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν.
- 4 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἀλκιμοὶ εἶναι· ὅπλα δ'
- 5 εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέιχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρῶμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπει-
- 6 ρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλους λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὗτ' ἐν

τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὄπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἤρπαζεν ὁ πο-  
ταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὄπλα εἴ τις φέροι,  
γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰλλα βέλη·  
ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ  
τὸν ποταμὸν· ἔνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, 7  
ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνει-  
λεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία  
ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπο-  
ρίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν καλύσσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ  
τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους  
ἵπισθεν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα 8  
ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ  
εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτό-  
μαται περιρρηῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὁπό-  
τον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρθρὸς ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν 9  
Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι,  
καὶ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε καὶ ὡς  
ἀχίστα ἕως ὑπέφαινεν ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ  
στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώ-  
ου. καὶ ἀπιώντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ  
σχατοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.  
αἱ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανί- 10  
κω· ἤδεσαν γὰρ πάντες, ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρι-  
τῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν καί, εἰ καθεύδοι,  
τεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-  
ον. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλ- 11  
έγοντες ὡς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κᾶπεια κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν  
πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά  
καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱμα-  
ῶν κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. ἰδοῦσι δέ 12  
βισι δόξα ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς  
ιλεμίους ἵππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο.  
δύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὡς  
υσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν δια-

- ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.
- 11 εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολλὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἡύλισθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων
- 12 καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθούσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰλλα, καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στατιᾷ πάντα ἀφείναι.
- 13 σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποιοῦν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.
- 14 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπιστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὕρισκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο, οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἶον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι.
- 15 εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίγνεται χειμῶν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν.
- 16 καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων ἐγγὺς προσιώντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόων· ὥστε ἀναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναγκάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θάμινά παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμοι
- 17 ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. ἔνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν, ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγυά ἐπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη· σχολῇ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ

Amel

ἐγγίγνεται τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει 18  
 ἀπὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς  
 ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίλας  
 Ἀρκὰς διαμπερὲς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο 19  
 ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλθων πρὸς  
 τὸν Χειρίσοφον ᾗτιᾷτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἡναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν δύο  
 καλῶ τε ἀγαθῶ ἀνδρε τέθνατον, καὶ οὔτε ἀνελεῖσθαι  
 ὅτε δάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος, 20  
 Ὡλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἰδέ, ὡς ἄβατα πάντα  
 τῇ· μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁρᾶς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
 νθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατει-  
 ηφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἑκβασιν. ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευ- 21  
 ν καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἰ πως δυναίμην  
 θάσαι πρὶν κατελιθῆναι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἳ δ' ἡγε-  
 ῖνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασὶν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ 22  
 ξενοφῶν λέγει, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἀνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ  
 οἱ πράγματα παρείχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς  
 οὐκ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναντες τινὰς αὐ-  
 τῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προὔθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τοῦτου  
 ἕκεν, ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρῆσαιμεθα.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡλεγχον δια- 23  
 βόντες, εἰ τινα εἰδείεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν.  
 μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων  
 οσαυγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶν  
 τοῦ ἐτέρου κατεσφάγη. ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν, ὅτι 24  
 ὅς μὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φατὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε  
 γάττη ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη  
 ἴσσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν.  
 ὁ δὲ ἰτάμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάρμιτον χωρίον, 25  
 εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήφοιτο, ἀδύνατον  
 εἶναι παρελθεῖν. ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας 26  
 ἡγετοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λέγειν τε  
 παρόντα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν, εἰ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀπὴρ



ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐβελοντῆς πο-  
 27 ρεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστώνυμος  
 Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκὰς καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκὰς,  
 ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος Ἀρ-  
 κὰς καὶ οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐβε-  
 λοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη,  
 οἶδα, ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου.  
 28 ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξίαρ-  
 χων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστέας Χίος,  
 ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ἐγένετο.

- 2 Καὶ ἦν μὲν δέλη ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφα-  
 γόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παρα-  
 δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἦν  
 λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ  
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπυγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄν-  
 τας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται  
 2 τάχιστα. ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος  
 ὡς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν  
 δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν  
 ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν  
 3 τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιόντες. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἦν ἔδει δια-  
 βάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίν-  
 δουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαλοὺς καὶ μείζους  
 καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταίνοντες  
 διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν  
 4 τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ  
 δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι  
 σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες,  
 τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτίγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάρι-  
 στοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι  
 πολέμιοι, [φοβούμενοι δῆλον ὅτι,] οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι'

ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδρῶντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρε-  
 σθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύ- 5  
 κλω περιιόντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ  
 τῷ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακάνοντες τοὺς δὲ  
 καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέ- 6  
 ζοντες. οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐ-  
 ῶν, παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ  
 φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα 7  
 νταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν, ἐπορεύ-  
 ντο συγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ  
 ἂρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες.  
 τεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἣ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγατο καὶ  
 λαλάξαντες ἔντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἔξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλγοὶ  
 τέθησκον· εὐζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσο- 8  
 ν ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος εὐθὺς ἔντο ἄνω κατὰ  
 ν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ  
 ριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ  
 αβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι.  
 ἰ οὔτοι πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ 9  
 ρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς  
 ἴσεις ἐπορεύετο ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐο-  
 τάτῃ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὅπι-  
 εν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυχά- 10  
 ἰσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατειλημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 λεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεδυχεῖν ἀπὸ  
 ν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν  
 ερ οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη  
 ζῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσ- 11  
 λλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ  
 λφ, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ  
 ἴλουντο φεύγειν. καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαλιν- 12  
 ὄπη ἐδύναντο ἕκαστός οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ

ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσέεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουνσι  
 τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 καὶ ἕτερον ὁρῶσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ  
 13 τοῦτον αὖτις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενο-  
 φῶν, μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον,  
 καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιβοῶντο τοῖς ὑπο-  
 ζυγίοις παριοῦσιν, ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ υποζύγια ἅτε διὰ  
 στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα, καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου  
 λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφώντος Ἀθηναῖον καὶ  
 Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν  
 Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο  
 ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦ-  
 14 του αἰρούσιν. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν  
 πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθεί-  
 15 σης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. ἐπεὶ δ'  
 ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουνσιν οἱ βάρβαροι  
 ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θανμαστόν πᾶσι γενέσθαι  
 καὶ ὑπώπτευν δέσαντας αὐτοὺς, μὴ κυκλωθέντες  
 πολιορκοῖντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου  
 καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 16 ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς  
 νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόχοι προσμί-  
 ξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ  
 17 θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπε. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν  
 Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκό-  
 πησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου καὶ ὅτι τεθνῶσι Κηφι-  
 σόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι  
 κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο.  
 18 ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντί-  
 πορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς  
 δι' ἑρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει.  
 19 οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς κώμας.  
 συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο

στράτευμα παρήει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου σπερρώθησαν. ἐνταῦθα ἵσταντο οἱ πολέμοιοι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ 20 μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο, ἵεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμοιοι πολλῷ πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαινεν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαξαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἱσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν· Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεύς Ἀρκὰς 21 τροσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβέ-  
 λημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντε-  
 αγμένους ἀπήλθον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο 22 ὁ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ  
 αλαῖς οἰκταῖς καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖσις δαψιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος  
 ὅλως ἦν, ὃν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ 23 αἱ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νε-  
 ροὺς ἀπέδωκαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς  
 ποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδρά-  
 ν ἀγαθοῖς. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· 24  
 ἐχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοιοι καὶ ὅπη εἴη στενὸν χωρίον  
 καταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. ὁπότε 25  
 ν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκβαί-  
 ν πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς  
 κώτοις ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλύν-  
 ν, ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος 26  
 βαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρω γίγνεσθαι τῶν κω-  
 ῖντων ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπι-  
 ν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς  
 λήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς 27  
 βᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πᾶ-  
 καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ἐγ-  
 'εν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ  
 α καὶ σφενδόνας· ἄριστοι δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον 28  
 τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλεον ἢ

διπήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὅποτε τοξεύουεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες· τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίους ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

- 3 Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν ταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπεῖχε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ὡς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια τῶν
- 2 Καρδούχων. τότε μὲν οὖν ἠύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τὰπιτήδεα ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσασπερ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετελέσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.
- 3 Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρώσιν ἵππεῖς πού πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους ὡς κωλύοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων ὡς κωλύοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν.
- 4 ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ'
- 5 εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας, αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῖχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀφωμένη ἦν ἀγούσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπει-
- 6 ρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἐπεὶ δὲ περρωμένοι τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλους λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὐτ' ἐν

τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὄπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἤρπαζεν ὁ πο-  
ταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὄπλα εἰ τις φέροι,  
γυμνοὶ ἐγίγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰλλα βέλη·  
ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ  
τὸν ποταμὸν· ἔνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, 7  
ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἑώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνε-  
λεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία  
ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπο-  
ρίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν καλύσσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ  
τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους  
ἵπισθεν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα 8  
ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ  
ἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτό-  
μαται περιρρυήναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὁπό-  
τενον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν 9  
Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπιδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι,  
αἱ διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε καὶ ὥς  
ἀχίστα, ἕως ὑπέβαινεν ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ  
στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώ-  
ου. καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ  
οἱ οἰκιστοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.  
καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανί- 10  
κω· ἤδεσαν γὰρ πάντες, ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρι-  
τῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν καί, εἰ καθεύδοι,  
τεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλε-  
ον. καὶ τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλ- 11  
έγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κάπειγα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν  
πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά  
καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱμα-  
των κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτρᾳ ἀνθρώδει. ἰδοῦσι δέ 12  
βισσι δόξα ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς  
ὀλεμίοις ἵππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο.  
δύντες δ' ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς  
υσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν δια-

βῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λα-  
 13 βόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἦκειν. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν  
 αὐτὸς τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγγεῖν ἐκέλευε  
 καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φῆνασι θεοῖς τὰ τε ὀνειράτα καὶ τὸν  
 πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ'  
 εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ  
 14 διηγούνται ταῦτά. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπον-  
 δὰς ἐποίη. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγε-  
 λλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς ἐβουλεύοντο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖν  
 καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν  
 15 μὴδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον  
 μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρα-  
 τεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι,  
 τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαί-  
 16 νειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούμενο  
 δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς  
 17 δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι. πορευο-  
 μένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήρυσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἱππέων.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρί-  
 σοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς  
 ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀρι-  
 18 στερᾷ τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις  
 ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευόν  
 19 τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξικνούντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται  
 καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπα-  
 σαι· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.  
 20 καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ  
 Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτά-  
 τους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἑκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσκοι-





τινας ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ  
 ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πέλτα-  
 στὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν  
 28 ὅ, τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὁ  
 Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ  
 διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν  
 ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς  
 καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ  
 29 ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγει-  
 λεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδὸν ἔξικνῆται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ,  
 παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ  
 ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλ-  
 πιγκτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ  
 δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ  
 διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν,  
 ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζεω ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο,  
 30 ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι  
 ὀρώντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς, πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ  
 τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὥχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν  
 ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ  
 ἐπέκειντο θρασέως καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονῶν καὶ τοξεύειν.  
 31 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐ-  
 τοὺς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὀπλισμένοι  
 ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ  
 φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς.  
 32 ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι  
 ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάττον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὰναντία  
 στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα.  
 33 τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδρα-  
 μον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρω-  
 σαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι  
 34 φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδρι-  
 ζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες ὑστερον

τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφώντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησαν τινες καὶ τούτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέ- 4  
ρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδῖον ἅπαν καὶ  
λείους γηλόφους οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ  
γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους  
τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώ- 2  
μην μεγάλην τε ἦν καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ  
καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπήσαν· ἐπὶ  
τῆδεα δ' ἦν δαφυλῆ. ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν στα- 3  
θμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς  
πηγὰς τοῦ Τύγρητος ποταμοῦ. ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπορεύ-  
θησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ  
τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέ-  
γας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν.  
ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. 4  
ὑπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος  
γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρῆν, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα  
ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας 5  
ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιτο δια-  
λεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν  
ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων, τί  
θέλοι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι σπεισασθαι βούλοιτο ἐφ' ᾧ 6  
μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καλεῖν  
τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιτήδεα, ὅσων δέοντο.  
ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τού-  
τοις.

Ἐντεύθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πε- 7  
δίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρη-  
κολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα  
σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ κώμας περί- 8  
τολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστὰς. στρατοπε-  
δευόμενων δ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν πολλή·  
καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρα-

400. 11.

- τηγούς κατὰ τὰς κόμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιῶνος.
- 9 ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς· εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατ' ἰδοῦν στρατεύμα
- 10 καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρατεύμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνήλθον· καὶ
- 11 γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιὼν· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιὼν
- 12 ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυνεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχα ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο·
- 13 πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκετο χρίσμα, φ' ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὐρίσκετο.
- 14 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κόμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἤσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δέ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς
- 15 σκηνοῦντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην ἄνδρα δόντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα
- 16 τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἦκεν ἄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ

σάγαριν, οἷανπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. ἐρωτώμενος 17  
 δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι  
 δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια  
 λάβοι. οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὅποσον τε  
 εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τιρί- 18  
 βαζος εἶη ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους  
 Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὅρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ  
 μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθυσόμενον τοῖς Ἑλ- }  
 λησιν. ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ 19  
 στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν. καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλι-  
 πόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον  
 Στυμφάλιον ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα  
 ἄνθρωπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτα- 20  
 σταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ  
 ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυ- 21  
 βον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπέ-  
 θανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἰκοσι  
 καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἐάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀρ-  
 γυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἶνο-  
 χόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ 22  
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς ἀπέναι τὴν τα-  
 χίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπιθεσις γένοιτο  
 τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ  
 σάλπιγγι ἀπήγεον, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔδοκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιτο 5  
 τάχιστα πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ  
 καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπο-  
 ρεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς·  
 καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν  
 ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἐντεῦ- 2  
 θεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασάγγας

- πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέ-  
 βαλλον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο  
 3 δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. ἐντεύθεν ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμούς τρεῖς,  
 παρασύγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλε-  
 πὸς καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει παντάπασιν  
 4 ἀποκαίων πάντα καὶ πηγὰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνθα  
 δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ,  
 καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι  
 τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος  
 ὀργυιὰ· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων  
 πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.  
 5 διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν  
 τῷ σταθμῷ πολλὰ· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ  
 εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἦκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ  
 προσέσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μετα-  
 δοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο [τι] εἴτι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν.  
 6 ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδονσαν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα  
 δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος· βύθροι  
 ἐγίνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρὴν  
 7 μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος. ἐντεύθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιού-  
 σαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθο-  
 φυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀν-  
 8 θρώπων ἡγνόμενός, ὅ, τι τὸ πάθος εἶη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶπε τις  
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων, ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμῶσι, καὶ τι  
 φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια,  
 εἰ πού τι ὀρφὴ βρωτόν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας  
 τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμῶσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 9 δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. πορευο-  
 μένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κόμην  
 ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κόμης πρὸς τῇ  
 κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν  
 10 τοῦ ἐρύματος. αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτούς, τίνες εἰεν. ὁ δ'

ἑρμηνεύς εἶπε Περσιστὶ, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύον-  
 ται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. οἱ δ',  
 ἐπεὶ ὅψ' ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ  
 ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ 11  
 ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατο-  
 πεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνά-  
 μενοι διατελέσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄριτοι καὶ  
 ἕνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν. ἐφέλποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι 12  
 γινῆς καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπασον καὶ  
 ἱλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Θ  
 στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς  
 φθαλμοὺς οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν  
 ποδῶν ἀποσσεσηπότες. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπι- 13  
 οὖρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν  
 φθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ  
 ἠδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο·  
 τοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύνοντο εἰς τοὺς 14  
 ὁδὰς οἱ ἱμάντες καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπτήγγυντο·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα,  
 χρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. διὰ 15  
 ἵς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντο τινες τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοι-  
 ῖναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ τετήκει  
 ἂ κρήνην τινά, ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπῃ.  
 ταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύ-  
 θαι. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὥς ἦσθετο, 16  
 εἶτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπε-  
 λαι, λέγων, ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλε-  
 γένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινεν. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν  
 ἔλεον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. ἐνταῦθα 17  
 ᾤξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολέμιους φοβή-  
 ναι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. καὶ ἦν

μὲν σκότος ἦδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ  
 18 ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες  
 ἄτε ἰγναίνοντες ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἡδύναντο  
 μέγιστον τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ  
 δὲ πολέμιοι δείσαντες ἤκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος  
 εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.  
 19 καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθε-  
 νοῦσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσί τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πο-  
 ρεούμενοι πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν  
 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρα-  
 τιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία  
 20 καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον,  
 ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῦν. ὁ δὲ παριῶν καὶ  
 παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέ-  
 λευε σκέψασθαι, τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον,  
 21 ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. ἐνταῦθα  
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠύλισθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς  
 καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέ-  
 22 λευεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος  
 πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκεψομένους, πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ  
 τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦν-  
 τας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυ-  
 θέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠύλιζετο.  
 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας  
 ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος  
 μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἄς ἐώρων  
 24 κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. ἔνθα  
 δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφίεναι  
 ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην,  
 ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς

κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πᾶλους εἰς δασμὸν  
 βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα  
 τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐγνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ  
 αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὄχθετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἤλω ἐν ταῖς κώ-  
 μαις. αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάργειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα 25  
 ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρείαι· αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον  
 ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, ὄλες,  
 βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη  
 πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ 26  
 κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατήρσιν.  
 ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι  
 ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μελλοῦς οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ  
 ἔχοντες· τούτους δ' ἔδει, ὅποτε τις διεψῆ, λαβόντα 27  
 εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις  
 ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι τὸ πόμα ἦν·  
 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σὺν 28  
 δειπνον ἐποίησατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε λέγων,  
 ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερησέοιτο τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίαςιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν  
 τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν  
 ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ 29  
 φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυ-  
 γμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνήσαντες  
 οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρα-  
 τιώται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα  
 αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενο- 30  
 φῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο·  
 ἵπου δὲ παρῶι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς  
 σῶμαῖς καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐαχουμένους καὶ  
 ὑθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖναι  
 αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ 31  
 τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια,  
 ἰόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις, τοῖς μὲν πυρί-



βῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες καὶ λα-  
 13 βόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν  
 αὐτός τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγγεῖν ἐκέλευε  
 καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν  
 πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ'  
 εὐθύς ἤγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ  
 14 διηγούνται ταῦτά. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπον-  
 δὰς ἐποίη. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγ-  
 γελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς ἐβουλεύοντο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν  
 καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν  
 15 μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον  
 μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρα-  
 τεύματος, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι,  
 τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαί-  
 16 νειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγούντο  
 δ' οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς  
 17 δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρες στάδιοι. πορευο-  
 μένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήεσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἵππέων.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρί-  
 σοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς  
 ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀρι-  
 18 στερᾷ τοὺς δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντεις  
 ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευόν  
 19 τε καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ἀλλ' οὐπω ἐξικινούντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάλγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται  
 καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπα-  
 σαι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.  
 20 καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ  
 Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτά-  
 τους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποι-

ούμενος ταύτη διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν πο-  
 ταμὸν ἱππεῖς. οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ 21  
 Χειρίσοφον εὐπετώως τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρώντες δὲ  
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν, δέισαν-  
 τες μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆναι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς  
 πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος,  
 Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Αἰσχίνης 22  
 ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσο-  
 φον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ  
 στρατιῶται ἐβίων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν 23  
 ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας  
 ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολε-  
 μίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρώντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας  
 φεύγοντας, ὀρώντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλεί-  
 πουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα. Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ 24  
 τὰ πέραν ἑώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχί-  
 στην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρ-  
 δοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες  
 ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. καὶ Χειρίσοφος 25  
 μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρή-  
 σας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπό-  
 μενα καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα,  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος 26  
 ἄκμην διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρ-  
 δοῦχους ἀντὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς  
 λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυ-  
 τοῦ λόχου παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγῶντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν  
 ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνω-  
 μοτάρχας πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵεναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ  
 καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι 27  
 ὡς ἑώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψελομένους  
 καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάττον δὴ ἐπήεσαν ὥδ' ας



*Handwritten signature or mark, possibly reading 'L. Smith'.*

τινας ἄδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν 28 ὅ, τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας ὁ Ξενοφῶν πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάοντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ 29 ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδὸν ἔξικνῆται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπυγκτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγείσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὡς μὴ ἐμποδίζῃν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, 30 ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὀρώντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς, πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὄχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονῶν καὶ τοξεύειν. 31 οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥπλισμένοι ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν ἰκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἰκανῶς. 32 ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπυγκτὴς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θάπτον, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὰναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. 33 τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι 34 φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδρίζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες ὕστερον

τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφώντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησαν τινες καὶ τούτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέ- 4  
ρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίον ἅπαν καὶ  
λείους γηλόφους οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ  
γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους  
τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους, εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώ- 2  
μην μεγάλην τε ἦν καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ  
καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπήσαν· ἐπὶ  
τήδεα δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν στα- 3  
θμοὺς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς  
πηγὰς τοῦ Τήγητος ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύ-  
θησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ  
τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέ-  
γας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν.  
ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. 4  
ὑπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος  
γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα  
ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας 5  
ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιο δια-  
λεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν  
ἀκούσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων, τί  
θέλοι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ 6  
μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καλεῖν  
τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιτήδεα, ὅσων δέοντο.  
ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τού-  
τοις.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς διὰ πε- 7  
δίου, παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρη-  
κολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα  
σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλείαν καὶ κώμας περίξ  
πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστὰς. στρατοπε- 8  
δευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιῶν πολλή·  
καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρα-

καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς

- τηγρούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος.
- 9 ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σίτον, οἶνους παλαιούς ἐνώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατῖδοσθ' ἐν στρατεύματι
- 10 καὶ νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοιτο. ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρατεύμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν ἀνῆλθον· καὶ
- 11 γὰρ ἐδόκει διαιθριάζειν. νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἡ χιὼν· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἡ χιὼν
- 12 ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρνεῖη. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχα ἀναστὰς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο·
- 13 πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκετο χρίσμα, ὃ ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερεβίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον εὐρίσκετο.
- 14 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι εἰς τὰς κώμας εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δέ, ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπήεσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς
- 15 σκηνοῦντες. ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην ἄνδρα δόντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεύσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα
- 16 τε ὡς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἦκεν ὄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ

σάγαριν, οἷανπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. ἐρωτώμενος 17  
 δὲ τὸ ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι  
 δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια  
 λάβοι. οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὅπωςον τε  
 εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τιρί- 18  
 βαζος εἶη ἔχων τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους  
 Χάλυβας καὶ Ταύχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη  
 ὥς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ  
 μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἑλ- }  
 λησιν. ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ 19  
 στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν. καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλι-  
 πόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον  
 Στυμφάλιον ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα  
 ἄνθρωπον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτα- 20  
 σταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ  
 ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυ- 21  
 βον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέ-  
 θανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι  
 καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἑάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλίνει ἀρ-  
 γυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνο-  
 χόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ 22  
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἔδωκε αὐτοῖς ἀπξέναι τὴν τα-  
 χίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο  
 τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ  
 σάλπιγγι ἀπήεσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραῖα ἔδωκε πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπη δύναιντο 5  
 τάχιστα πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ  
 καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπο-  
 ρεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς·  
 καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν  
 ἐπιτιθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. ἐντεῦ- 2  
 θεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς ἐρήμους τρεῖς, παρασάγγας

- πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέ-  
 βαλλον αὐτὸν βρεγόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. ἐλέγοντο  
 3 δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμούς τρεῖς,  
 παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλε-  
 πὸς καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει παντάπασιν  
 4 ἀποκαίων πάντα καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἔνθα  
 δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ,  
 καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι  
 τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος  
 ὀργυῖά· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων  
 πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.  
 5 διεγένοντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν  
 τῷ σταθμῷ πολλά· οἱ δὲ ὄψε προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ  
 εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἤκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ  
 προσέσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μετα-  
 δοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο [τι] εἴτι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν.  
 6 ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα  
 δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθροι  
 ἐγίνοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὴ παρὴν  
 7 μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιού-  
 σαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμύασαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπίσθο-  
 φυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀν-  
 8 θρώπων ἡγνύει, ὅ, τι τὸ πάθος εἴη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰπέ τις  
 αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων, ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμῶσι, καὶ τι  
 φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιὼν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια,  
 εἰ ποῦ τι ὀρέῃ βρωτόν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας  
 τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμῶσιν. ἐπειδὴ  
 9 δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. πορευο-  
 μένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην  
 ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὕδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ  
 10 τοῦ ἐρύματος. αὐταὶ ἡρώτων αὐτοῦς, τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ'

ἑρμηνεύς εἶπε Περσιστί, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύον-  
 ται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ  
 ἐνταῦθα εἴη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασύγγην. οἱ δ',  
 ἐπεὶ ὄψε' ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κωμάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ  
 ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ 11  
 ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατο-  
 πεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνά-  
 μενοι διατελέσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄφριτοι καὶ  
 ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν. ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολέμιων συνειλεγμένοι 12  
 τινὲς καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἡρπαζον καὶ  
 ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν 13  
 στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν  
 ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπι- 13  
 κούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν  
 ὀφθαλμῶν πορεύοιτο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ  
 μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύνειτο·  
 ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύνοντο εἰς τοὺς 14  
 πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο·  
 καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα,  
 καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. διὰ 15  
 τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρα-  
 τιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοι-  
 πέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα εἵκαζον τετήκέναι· καὶ τετήκει 16  
 διὰ κρήνην τινά, ἢ πλησίον· ἦν ἀτμίττουσα ἐν νάπῃ.  
 ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύ-  
 εσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἦσθετο, 16  
 εἶδετο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ μὴ ἀπολείπε-  
 σθαι, λέγων, ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμοι συνειλε-  
 γμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν  
 ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. ἐνταῦθα 17  
 ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολέμιους φοβῆ-  
 σαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. καὶ ἦν



μὲν σκότος ἦδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῷ θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ  
 18 ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ὀπισθοφύλακες  
 ἄτε ὑγιαίνοντες ἐξαναφστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἡδύναντο  
 μέγιστον τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ  
 δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος  
 εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.  
 19 καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθε-  
 νούσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσὶ τινες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, πο-  
 ρευόμενοι πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν  
 ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένους ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρα-  
 τιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία  
 20 καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον,  
 ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. ὁ δὲ παριῶν καὶ  
 παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέ-  
 λευε σκέψασθαι, τί εἴη τὸ κωλύον. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον,  
 21 ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. ἐνταῦθα  
 καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠύλισθησαν αὐτοῦ ἀνευ πυρὸς  
 καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀσθενούντας τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέ-  
 22 λευεν ἀναγκάζειν προϊέναι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος  
 πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκεφομένους, πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ  
 τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενούν-  
 τας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυ-  
 θέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠύλιζετο.  
 23 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας  
 ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος  
 μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἄς εἴρων  
 24 κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. ἔνθα  
 δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφίεναι  
 ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θέων ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην,  
 ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς

κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ πώλους εἰς δασμὸν  
 βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα  
 τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐγγάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ  
 αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὄχετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἦλω ἐν ταῖς κώ-  
 μαις. αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάνγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα 25  
 ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δὲ εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον  
 ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἰες,  
 βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη  
 πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ 26  
 κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθιος ἐν κρατῆρσιν.  
 ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι  
 ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μεῖζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνατα οὐκ  
 ἔχοντες· τούτους δ' ἔδει, ὅποτε τις διψῶν, λαβόντα 27

εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις  
 ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺ συμμαθόντι τὸ πόμα ἦν·  
 ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σὺν 28  
 δειπνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε λέγων,  
 ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ  
 ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίαςιν, ἦν ἀγαθόν  
 τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν  
 ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ 29  
 φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορων-  
 γμένος. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα διασκηνίσαντες  
 οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κωμάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα  
 αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενο- 30  
 φῶν λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο·  
 ὅπου δὲ παρῶι κώμῃν, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς  
 κώμαις καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ  
 εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμόθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖναι  
 αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ 31  
 τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια,  
 μόσχεια, ὀρνίθεια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις, τοῖς μὲν πυρί-

32 νοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνουσι. ὁπότε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός  
 τῷ βούλοιο προπιεῖν, εἵλεκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν  
 ἐπικύψαντα ἔδει ροφούντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ  
 τῷ κωμάρχει ἐδίδουσαν λαμβάνειν ὃ, τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ  
 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν  
 33 ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβανε. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς  
 Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κάκεινους σκηνοῦντας ἔστε-  
 φανώμενους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακο-  
 νοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στο-  
 λαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς, ὃ, τι  
 34 δέοι ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χει-  
 ρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρ-  
 χην διὰ τοῦ ἡερσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως, τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα.  
 ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων, τίνι οἱ  
 ἵπποι τρέφονται. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι βασιλεῖ δασμός·  
 τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν  
 35 ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἥ εἴη. καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ὄχθετο ἄγων  
 Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον δν εἰ-  
 λήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχει ἀναθρέψαντι  
 καταθύσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἑλίου,  
 δεδιώς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας·  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρα-  
 36 τηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. ἦσαν δ'  
 οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέ-  
 στεροι δὲ πολὺ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης  
 περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία  
 περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν  
 σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστροῦ.

6 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδί-  
 δωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κω-  
 μάρχει, πλην τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δ'  
 Ἐπισθέναι Ἀμφιπολίτῃ παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως,  
 εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσαιοτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἅπιοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν  
 οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ

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ἀναξεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. ἤγειτο δ' αὐταῖς ὁ κωμάρ- 2  
χης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ  
σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς  
κώμας ἦγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ  
τούτῳ. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδῃσε δ' 3  
οὔ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδράς ἔρχετο  
καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ  
Ξενοφῶντι μόνου διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἡ  
τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθένης δὲ  
ἠράσθη τε τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οἰκαδὲ κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ  
ἐχρήτο. μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμούς ἀνὰ 4  
πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν πο-  
ταμόν, εὗρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν στα- 5  
θμούς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίου  
ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Ταόχοι  
καὶ Φασιανοί. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολε- 6  
μῖους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέ-  
χων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων  
πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος  
γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύ- 7  
λακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ  
ἔλεξεν ὥδε. Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι  
τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι, ὅπως  
ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ πα- 8  
ραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς  
δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ ὑπερ-  
βάλλειν τὸ ὄρος. Ἐμοὶ δὲ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ 9  
ἐπὰν τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισμένους ὥς τάχι-  
στα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίβομεν τὴν  
τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρώντες πολέμιοι  
δαρραλέωτεροι ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων δαρ-  
ρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενο- 10  
φῶν εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γιγνώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη

place

place

ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς  
 κράτιστα μαχοῦμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα  
 ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως  
 ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ  
 11 σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ  
 τὰ ὀρώμενον πλεον ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ'  
 οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροί εἰσιν ἄλλ' ἢ κατ'  
 αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους  
 καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθά-  
 σαντας, εἰ δυναίμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία  
 12 καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. πολὺ γὰρ  
 ῥᾶον ὀρθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἵεναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν  
 πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ  
 ποδῶν ὀρφεῖ τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἡ τρα-  
 χεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ  
 13 τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. καὶ κλέψαι οὐκ ἀδύνατόν  
 μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἔξον μὲν νυκτὸς ἵεναι, ὡς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι,  
 ἔξον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν.  
 δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβάλ-  
 λειν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὅρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν  
 14 γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἄθροοι οἱ πολέμοι. ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ  
 περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χει-  
 ρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ  
 αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει  
 15 νόμος. ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτῃτε καὶ πειρᾶσθε  
 λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἂν ληφθῆτε κλέ-  
 πτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν  
 ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μέντοι, μὴ  
 ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πολλὰς πλη-  
 16 γὰς λάβωμεν. Ἄλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κἀγὼ  
 ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν  
 τὰ δημόσια καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ  
 κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ

ἡμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὧρα καὶ σοὶ  
 ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδεῖαν. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖον, ἔφη 17  
 ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων,  
 ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἵεναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος.  
 ἔχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐφεπομένων  
 ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· καὶ τούτων  
 πυνθάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμε-  
 ται αἰξί καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε, ἐάνπερ ἄπαξ λάβωμέν τι  
 τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. ἐλπίζω δὲ 18  
 οὐδὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς  
 ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι  
 καταβαίνειν ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ ἴσον. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε, 19  
 Καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἵεναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν ;  
 ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνων-  
ται. ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς ἔρχεται ὀπλί- 20  
 τας ἔχων καὶ Ἀριστέας Χίος γυμνήτας καὶ Νικόμαχος  
 Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε  
 ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά. ταῦτα συνθέ- 21  
μενοι ἡρίστων. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χει-  
 ρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκῇ ταύτῃ προσ-  
ἄζειν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν 22  
 ταχθέντες ὥχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ  
 ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο  
 ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλά  
 διὰ νυκτός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν 23  
 θυσάμενος ἦγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλα-  
 βόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήεσαν. τῶν δ' αὖ πολεμίων 24  
 τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος  
 δ' αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ  
 εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ  
 τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. ἐν 25  
 τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν

Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βιάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. 26 οἱ δὲ πολέμοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἑώρων ἡγούμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς 27 μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποιοῦν. ὥς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἦλθον.

7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους σταθμοὺς πέντε, παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε· χωρία γὰρ ὄκουν ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Ταόχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ 2 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον, ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά, Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν· εὐθύς ἦκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσῆει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν 3 ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλω. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος, Εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον. 4 ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος ἐρωτῶντος, τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος, [Ἀλλὰ] μία αὕτη πάροδος ἔστιν ἣν ὀρᾷς· ὅταν δὲ τις ταύτῃ πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται. ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμ- 5 μένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. Ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναυτίου ὀρώμεν εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων 6 δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὀπλισμένους. τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὥς καὶ σὺ

ὄρα, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν. τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδουμένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν ἤδη γήγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν. Ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς 7 τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί. Αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἶη. θάπτον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἦν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον, ἦν βουλώμεθα.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ 8 Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἑβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἄθροοι, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ 9 Ἀριστῶννμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλείον ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. ἔνθα δὲ Καλλίμαχος 10 μηχανᾶται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, ὕψ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτός, δύο καὶ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἄμαξαι πέτρων ἀνηλίσκοντο. ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας 11 ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δέισας, μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστῶννμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα ἐταίρους ὄντας οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς ἑώρα αὐτὸν παρίοντα, ἐπι- 12 λαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἵτους· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρέθει

c i m o l e a



αὐτοὺς Ἀριστάνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τούτων  
 Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο  
 ἀρετῆς καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως  
 ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὥς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδρα-  
 13 μον, οὐδεὶς πέτρον ἄνωθεν ἤνέχθη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ δεινὸν  
 ἦν θέαμα, αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ῥιπτοῦσαι τὰ παιδία εἶτα  
 καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσαύτως.  
 ἔνθα δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδὼν τινα  
 θέοντα ὡς ῥέφοντα ἑαυτὸν στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν ἐπι-  
 14 λαμβάνεται ὡς καλύσων. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ  
 ἀμφότεροι ᾤκοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ  
 ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάννυ οὐλογοὶ ἐλή-  
 φθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.  
 15 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς  
 ἑπτὰ, παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν δεξι-  
 θον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. εἶχον δὲ  
 θώρακας λινοὺς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πτερύ-  
 16 γων σπάρτα πύκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημί-  
 δας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον  
 ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἑσφαττον ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιντο,  
 καὶ ἀποτέμνοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο,  
 καὶ ἦδον καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμοι αὐτοὺς ὄψε-  
 σθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα  
 17 πηχῶν μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πο-  
 λίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο  
 αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι. ᾤκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπι-  
 τήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν  
 λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν  
 18 τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταύρων ἔλαβον. ἐκ τούτου  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρπασον ποταμόν, εὖ-  
 ρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ  
 Σκυθίων σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἰκοσι, διὰ  
 19 πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ

παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαι-  
 μονα καὶ οἰκουμένην, ἣ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνίαις. ἐκ ταύτης  
 ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει,  
 ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. 20  
 ἔλθων δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν  
 εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τεθνά-  
 ναι ἐπηγγέλλετο. καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς  
 τὴν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθει-  
 ρεῖν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα  
 ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. καὶ ἀφικνούνται 21  
 ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν  
 Θήχης. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους  
 καὶ κατείδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο.  
 ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ψήθησαν 22  
 ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἵποντο γὰρ  
 καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ  
 ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐξώγησαν  
 ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενός, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν  
 ὠμοβοδεία ἄμφι τὰ εἴκοσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ (ἡ) βοὴ πλείων 23  
 τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον  
 δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας καὶ πολλῶ μελίων ἐγίνετο  
 ἡ βοὴ ὅσῃ δὴ πλείους ἐγίνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μεῖζόν τι  
 εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον 24  
 καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβοήθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ  
 ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, θάλαττα, θάλατ-  
 τα, καὶ παρεγγυώντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ  
 ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑπόζυγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπ-  
 ποι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα 25  
 δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχα-  
 γοὺς δακρύοντες. καὶ ἐξαπίνης ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαν-  
 τος οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν  
 μέγαν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτιθεσαν δερμάτων πλήθος ὠμο- 26  
 βοείων καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ  
 ἡγεμὼν αὐτὸς τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

21 διεκαλεύετο. μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα. ἤτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὐ σκηνήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπῴων.

8 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς, παρασύγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃς ὠριζε τὴν τε

2 τῶν Μακρώνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἶον χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι πᾶχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ προσήλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελθεῖν.

3 οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίνους χιτῶνας καταντιπέρας τῆς διαβάσεως παραταγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν ἐρρίπτουν· ἐξικνούντο δὲ οὐ οὐδ' ἐβλαπτον οὐδέν.

4 Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν τις ἀνὴρ Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων, ὅτι γιγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει,

5 ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον, τίνες εἰσίν. οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτήσαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. Ἐρώτα τοῖνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς, τί ἀντιτετάχεται καὶ χρήξουσιν ἡμῶν

6 πολέμιοι εἶναι. οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο, Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἔρχεσθε. λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοί, ὅτι οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ

7 θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι. ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ

δοῦεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι  
καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες  
βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες  
ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι.  
Θεοὺς δὲ ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα 8  
συνεξέκοπτον τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὥδοποιοῦν, ὥς διαβιβάζον-  
τες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἀγορὰν  
οἷαν ἐδύναντο παρῆχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέ-  
ραις, ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἕλ-  
ληνας. ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ 9  
τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα,  
ὥς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς  
στρατηγοῖς βουλευέσασθαι συλλεγείσιν, ὅπως ὥς κάλ-  
λιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. ἔλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι δοκεῖ 10  
παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἢ  
μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ  
ἄνοδον τῇ δὲ εὐοδὸν εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο  
ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην  
διεσπασμένην ὀρῶσιν. ἔπειτα, ἣν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς 11  
τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πο-  
λέμιοι καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὃ, τι ἂν βούλων-  
ται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἴωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν  
εἴη θάυμαστον εἰ διακοπεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ  
ἀθρόων καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων·  
εἰ δὲ πῃ τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται.  
ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους 12  
τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις  
ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολε-  
μίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολε-  
μίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους  
ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἣ τε ἂν  
εὐοδὸν ᾗ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. καὶ εἰς τε τὸ 13

- διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν  
 ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον  
 ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα. εἰάν τέ τις πιέζηται  
 τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει. ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ  
 τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνη  
 14 τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς  
 λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις, "Ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν  
 οὗς ὁράτε μόνον ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα  
 πάσαι ἐσπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πως δυνώμεθα, καὶ  
 ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.  
 15 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς  
 λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποιήσαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος  
 σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστας καὶ τοὺς  
 τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποιήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἕξω,  
 τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἕξακο-  
 16 σίους ἑκάστους. ἐκ τούτου παρηργήσαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ  
 εὐχεσθαι· εὐχόμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο.  
 καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἕξω γενόμενοι  
 17 ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπα-  
 ραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον  
 διεσπάρσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῇ  
 18 μέσῃ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας  
 οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης  
 ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον·  
 καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαλόντες· συνέφει-  
 πετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε  
 19 Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, ὡς ἤρξαντο  
 θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐτρά-  
 πετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο  
 ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσας.  
 20 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ, τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ

σμῆνῃ πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἤμουν καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἴστασθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐφέκσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς 21 γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν που ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμούς, παρα-22 σάγγας ἐπτά, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ δάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξεινῷ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κόμαις· κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐληλίζοντο 23 τὴν Κολχίδα. ἀγορὰν δὲ παρεῖχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βούς καὶ ἄλφита καὶ οἶνον. συνδιεπράτ-24 τουντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίου Κόλχων τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκοῦντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον βοές. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὔξαντο, 25 παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ σωτήρι καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βέοις ἃ εὔξαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν. εἵλοντο δὲ Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἰκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανὼν ξυῆλῃ πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προστατῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα παρέδοσαν τῷ 26 Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπερ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγγα-νον, Οὗτος ὁ λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅποι ἂν τις βούληται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν

*signat*

ἐν σκληρῇ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως ; ὁ δ' εἶπε, Μᾶλλον τι  
 27 ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπρασάων ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν  
 στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ  
 Κρήτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλιν δὲ καὶ πυ-  
 γμῆν καὶ παγκράτιον ἕτεροι. καὶ καλὴ δέα ἐγένετο·  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν καὶ ἅτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων  
 28 πολλὴ φιλονεικία ἐγένετο. ἔθεον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ  
 ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ δα-  
λάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βωμόν  
ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδούντο· ἄνω δὲ  
 πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ  
 ἵπποι· ἐνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακέλευ-  
 σις ἐγένετο αὐτῶν.

## BOOK V.

- 1 Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου  
 ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι  
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς  
 Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἕλληνίδα ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέ-  
 θυσαν ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύσειν, ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς  
 φίλιαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.
- 2 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς  
 πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θούριος καὶ  
 ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπεί-  
 ρηκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων καὶ τρέχων καὶ  
 τὰ ὅπλα φέρων καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰὼν καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων  
 καὶ μαχόμενος, ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη παυσάμενος τούτων  
 τῶν πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν  
 καὶ ἐκταθεῖς, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς, καθεύδων ἀφικέσθαι
- 3 εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἀνεθορύβησαν, ὡς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτα ἔλεγε,

καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες. ἔπειτα δὲ Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη  
καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε. Φίλος μοι ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, 4  
ναυαρχῶν δὲ [καί] τυγχάνει. ἦν οὖν πέμψητέ με,  
οἴομαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς  
ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε,  
ἔστ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἥξω δὲ ταχέως. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα  
οἱ στρατιῶται ἥσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν  
ὥς τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἐλεξεν ὧδε. 5  
Χειρίσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνα-  
μενούμεν· ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ  
μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρώ. πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορί- 6  
ζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ  
οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα εὐπορία, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ  
χώρα πολεμία· κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἦν  
ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτή-  
δεια. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ 7  
ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὥς σώξῃσθε, ἡμᾶς  
δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Ἔτι τοίνυν  
ἀκούσατε καὶ τάδε. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκπορεύουσιν 8  
ταί τινες. οἴομαι οὖν βέλτιον εἶναι ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν  
μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆ-  
θος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων καὶ ξυμ-  
παρασκευάζωμεν ἕαν τι δέῃ, κὰν βοηθήσαι τισὶ και-  
ρὸς ᾗ, εἰδῶμεν ὅποι δεήσει βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἕαν τις τῶν  
ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχειρῇ ποι, ξυμβουλευόμεν πειρώμενοι  
εἰδέναι τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' οὗς ἂν ἴωσιν. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα.  
Ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. σχολὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ληί- 9  
ζεσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ  
τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται δ' ἡμῶν. φύλακας δὴ μοι  
δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶναι· ἕαν οὖν κατὰ  
μέρος [μερισθέντες] φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶμεν, ἥττον  
ἂν δύναιτο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἔτι τοίνυν τάδε  
ὁρᾶτε. εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς, ὅτι ἥξει πλοῖα 10



- Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὢν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειραῶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσοῦ-
- 11 μεθα, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. ὁρῶ δὲ ἐγὼ πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτὰ τὰ πηδάλια παραλνόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν
- 12 κομιδῆς οἷας δεόμεθα. ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. Ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ οἷς ἂν καταγάγωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελούντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται.
- 13 ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραλῆναι ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς, ἃς δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πεύσσονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
- 14 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον, ὥς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν, λέγων, ὅτι θάπτον ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί.
- 15 ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντερον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἣ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περιόικον. οὗτος ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν πλοῖα ἀποδράς ὥχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θράκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος.
- 16 ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστάθῃ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατήγεγν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, εἴ τι ἦγον, ἐξαιρούμενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη, τοῖς δὲ
- 17 πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν

ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάμβανον οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεαίνετος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν ὥστε 2 ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντιῶν ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι ὁπόθεν μὲν 2 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥάδιον ἦν λαβεῖν οὐκ ἤγουν· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς τοὺς Δρίλας δὲ προθύμως ἤγουν, ὑφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅποια 3 τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐμπιπράντες ἀπῆσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμβάνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅς ἢ βούς ἢ ἄλλο τι κτήνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός. ἐν δὲ ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες ξυνερρυήκεσαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. οἱ δὲ πελτα- 4 σται προδραμόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν ὁρῶντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα, προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον· ξυνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες πλείους ἢ εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι οὐκ 5 ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τάφρος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεία ἀναβεβλημένη καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι, ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. ὥς δὲ οὐκ 6 ἐδύναντο ἀποτρέχειν, ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἢ κατὰβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαράδραν, πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενο-

- 7 φῶντα, ὃς ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπλίταις. ὁ δ' ἔλθων λέγει, ὅτι ἔστι χωρίον χρημάτων πολλῶν μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γάρ ἐστιν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ῥάδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ ἡ ἀφοδος
- 8 χαλεπή. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαράδραν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐσκοπεῖτο, πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβιβάζειν, ὡς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ
- 9 χωρίου. ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπάγειν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ᾤοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ξυνεχώρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντεις ἀποδεδευγμένοι ἦσαν, ὅτι
- 10 μάχη μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς ἔπεμπε διαβιβάσσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελ-
- 11 ταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἶα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα τὸν χρό-
- 12 νον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγελλε διηγκυλωμένους ἵεναι, ὡς, ὁπότεν σημήνη, ἀκοντίζειν δεῆσον, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὡς, ὁπότεν σημήνη, τοξεύειν δεῆσον, καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς
- 13 ἐπιτηδείους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀξιούντες τούτων μὴ χεῖρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων·
- 14 μνηοειδὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαύσαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠλάλαξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται, καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόναι, πλείστοι

δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέ-  
 φερων. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ 15  
 πολέμιοι τὰ τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε  
 Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πελληνεὺς κατα-  
 θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος  
 ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβεβήκει, καὶ ἠλώκει τὸ  
 χωρίον, ὥς ἐδόκει. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ 16  
 εἰσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον ὅ,τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενο-  
 φῶν στὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυε  
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξω· πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ'  
 ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μεταξὺ 17  
 γενομένου κραυγὴ τε ἐγένετο ἔνδον καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ μὲν  
 καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, τάχα δέ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ  
 πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. καὶ ἐρωτῶμενοι  
 οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἔνδον καὶ  
 οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἱ παῖουσιν ἐκδεδραμῆκότες τοὺς  
 ἔνδον ἀνθρώπους. ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμῆ- 18  
 δην τὸν κήρυκα ἵεναι εἰσω τὸν βουλούμενόν τι λαμ-  
 βάνειν, καὶ ἵεντο πολλοὶ εἰσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς  
 ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσωθούμενοι καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἕξω τῆς 19  
 ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλλη-  
 νες· οἱ δὲ ὀπλῆται ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ  
 σταυρώματα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν  
 φέρουσαν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, 20  
 εἰ οἷόν τε εἶη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτως σωτη-  
 ρία ἀσφαλής, ἄλλως δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι  
 ἀπελθεῖν· σκοπουμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν  
 ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο 21  
 τὴν ἀφοδὸν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ'  
 αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας  
 ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καταλιπόν-  
 τες οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο 22  
 ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ γέρρα καὶ λόγχας

ἔχοντες καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά, καὶ  
 ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν  
 23 τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν  
 ἀσφαλὲς ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερού-  
 σας. καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε  
 χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι, καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά  
 24 ἦν ἐπιούσα. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων  
 θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. ἑξαπίνης  
 γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὅτου δὴ ἐνάψαντος.  
 ὥς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ  
 25 οἰκίων. ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφὼν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς  
 τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας,  
 αἱ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχύ ἐκαίοντο. ἔφευγον  
 26 οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκίων. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπον καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπι-  
 κείσονται ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. ἐνταῦθα  
 παραγγέλλει φέρειν ξύλα ὅσοι ἐτύγχανον ἔξω ὄντες  
 τῶν βελῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ ἦδη ἦν, ἐνήψαν· ἐνήπτουν δὲ καὶ τὰς  
 παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμοι ἀμφὶ  
 27 ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. οὕτω μόλις ἀπήλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου,  
 πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι.  
 καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ  
 τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πλὴν  
 τῆς ἄκρας.  
 28 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχοντες τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς  
 Τραπεζοῦντα, πρηνὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ, ψευδενέδραν  
 29 ἐποίησαντο· καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσοὺς τὸ γένος καὶ τοῦνομα  
 τοῦτο ἔχων τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν δέκα ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ  
 χωρίῳ καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολέμιους πειράσθαι  
 λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε  
 30 διεφαίνοντο χαλκαῖ οὔσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμοι ταῦτα  
 διορῶντες ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ

ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπε-  
 ληλυθέναι, τῷ Μυσῷ ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος·  
 καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν 31  
 ἄλλοι Κρήτες, ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ,  
 ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας κυλιν-  
 δούμενοι ἐσώθησαν, ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγων  
 ἐβόα βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον 32  
 τετρωμένον· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλό-  
 μενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν  
 Κρητῶν. οὕτως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες  
 σῶοι ὄντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ 3  
 ἦν οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτεόν  
 εἶναι. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενούντας ἐνε-  
 βίβασαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ παῖδας  
 καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν·  
 καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν εἰσβιβάσαντες τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖ-  
 σθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὠδοποιημένη  
 ἦν. καὶ ἀφικνούνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τρι- 2  
 ταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, Σινωπέων ἀποι-  
 κον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας 3  
 δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀρι-  
 θμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι. οὗτοι  
 ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
 ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις  
 νόσῳ.

Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμα- 4  
 λῶτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξείλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον  
 οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς·  
 ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος ἔλαβε. Ξενο- 5  
 φῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος  
 ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν

καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου,  
6 δς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ  
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησι-  
λάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοῦς ὁδόν, καταλείπει  
παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐ-  
τὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἵεναι, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἥν μὲν  
αὐτὸς σωθῆ, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δέ τι πάθοι, ἀναθεῖ-  
ναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὃ, τι οἶοιτο χαριεῖσθαι  
7 τῇ Θεῷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφών, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη  
αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκι-  
σθέντι παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς  
Ὀλυμπίαν Δεωρήσων, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακατα-  
θήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφών δὲ λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ  
8 Θεῷ ὅπου ἀνείλεν ὁ Θεός. ἔτυχε δὲ διὰ μέσου ῥέων  
τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ  
τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ,  
καὶ ἰχθύες δὲ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔνιαι καὶ κόγχοι· ἐν δὲ  
τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων ὅποσα  
9 ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ  
ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ ἀεὶ  
δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὥραϊα θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ  
Θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες  
καὶ γυναῖκες μετείχον τῆς ἑορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ Θεὸς  
τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιστα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ  
τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θη-  
10 ρεομένων δέ. καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν  
οἳ τε Ξενοφώντας παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν,  
οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων· καὶ ἡλίσκετο  
τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
11 Φολόης, σύες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα  
ἥ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται ὥς εἴκοσι  
στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. ἐν δ' ἐν τῷ  
ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ καὶ  
σύς καὶ αἰγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ

τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι.  
 περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυ- 12  
 τεύθη ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς  
 μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν  
 ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. καὶ στηλῇ 13  
 ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα· **ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο**  
**ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝ-**  
**ΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΤΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑ-**  
**ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΤ ΕΤΟΤΣ. ΕΚ**  
**ΔΕ ΤΟΤ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΤ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΕΤ-**  
**ΑΖΕΙΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ**  
**ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.**

Ἐκ Κερασούντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομί- 4  
 ζοντο οἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπο-  
 ρεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις, 2  
 πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον  
 πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες, πότερον  
 ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἢ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται τῆς χώ-  
 ρας. οἱ δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι οὐ διήσοιεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς  
 χωρίοις. ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ὅτι πολέμοί 3  
 εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι  
 ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλονται ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ  
 πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος ἤκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἳ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων 4  
 ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεγε  
 μὲν Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος· ὦ ἄνδρες 5  
 Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα περὶ πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ  
 οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολέμους εἶναι. εἰ οὖν 6  
 βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν ξυμμάχους καὶ  
 τιμωρήσασθαι, εἴ τι πάποθ' ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν, καὶ  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους. εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς 7  
 ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε, πόθεν αὖθις ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν  
 λάβοιτε ξύμμαχον. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων 8



- τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ὅτι καὶ βούλονται ταῦτα καὶ δέ-  
 9 χοινοτὴν ξυμμαχίαν. Ἄγετε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν,  
 τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι, ἂν ξύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γε-  
 νώμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἰοί τε ἔσεσθε ἡμῖν ξυμπράξαι  
 10 περὶ τῆς διόδου; οἱ δὲ εἶπον, ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν  
 χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε  
 καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ  
 ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῖν ξυμμαχοῦνταί τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 ἡγήσονται.
- 11 Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ὄχοντο.  
 καὶ ἦγον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονό-  
 ξυλα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβά-  
 12 τες εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, ὁ δὲ εἰς ἔμενε. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μένοντες  
 ἐξετάξαντο ὧδε. ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα οἶον  
 χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέρρα πάντες  
 λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασμένα κιττοῦ πετάλῳ, ἐν δὲ  
 τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξάπηχυ, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην  
 13 ἔχον, ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. χιτω-  
 νίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ  
 στρωματοδέσμου, ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα οἰ-  
 απερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον,  
 ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηράς.
- 14 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες  
 ἐπορεύοντο ἄδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν  
 τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὄπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαρεύοντο  
 εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ χωρίον, ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπι-  
 15 μαχώτατον εἶναι. ὦκείτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς  
 μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρό-  
 τατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος  
 ἦν· οἱ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι  
 καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ  
 δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας  
 16 πλεονεκτεῖν. εἶποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

τινές, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι προσιόντων τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ξυναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τινάς, καὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι οὗ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθοῦντας· εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ᾤχοντο, καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς 17 κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινι ᾄδοντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε 18 πολεμίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξεληθόντες Ἑλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν μάλα ὄντες συχνοί· ὃ οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἶπεν, 19 ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων· ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γεγένηται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι οἱ 20 μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμιοι εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῆς ξυν ἡμῖν τάξεως καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι εἶναι ξυν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτα πράττειν ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν δίκην δεδώκασιν· ὥστε αὖθις ἡττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείφονται. ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρα- 21 σκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξετε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσετε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· ἣ δ' 22 ὕστερα λαθὺσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων ὀρθίῳ ὄντων ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εὗζωνοι κατα- 23

τρέχοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλον. τούτους οὖν ἀνέσταν  
 λον οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ πελτασταί. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάρην  
 ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προ-  
 τεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτρέφθησαν καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς.  
 24 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. τοὺς  
 μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐμά-  
 χοντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλῖται, ἐτράποντο.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντο διώκοντες ἄνω  
 πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο.  
 25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις,  
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι ἐμά-  
 χοντο καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα  
 ἔχοντες παχέα μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μόλις, τοῖς  
 26 τοῖς ἐπειρώντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ  
 ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσε ἔχώρουν, ἔφυγον οἱ  
 βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἅπαντες λιπόντες τὸ χωρίον.  
 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ μύσσειν τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρου  
 ὠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα  
 καὶ φυλάττουσιν, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ  
 πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσ-  
 27 σύνοις κατεκαύθησαν. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες  
 τὰ χωρία εὗρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων  
 νενημένων πατρίους, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν  
 δὲ νέον σῖτον ξὺν τῇ καλᾷ ἀποκείμενον. ἦσαν δὲ  
 28 ζεῖαι αἱ πλείσται. καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφο-  
 ρεῦσιν εὗρίσκετο τεταριχευμένα καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι  
 τῶν δελφίνων, ὃ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι καθάπερ οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ· κάρνα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωγαίων ἦν  
 πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα, οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν.  
 29 τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἔφροντες καὶ ἄρτους  
 ὀπτῶντες. οἶνος δὲ εὗρίσκετο, ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν ὄξυς  
 ἐφαίμετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δὲ  
 εὐώδης τε καὶ ἡδύς.

30 Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπο-

ρεύοντο εἰς το πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ξυμ-  
μαχήσασι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
παρήεσαν χωρία τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ  
εὐπροσοδῶτατα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώ-  
ρουν. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων. ἀπείχον 31  
αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ  
πλείον αἱ δὲ μείον· ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ξυνήκουον  
εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας πόλεως· οὕτως ὑψηλή τε  
καὶ κοίλη ἡ χώρα ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φέ- 32  
λοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων  
σιτευτούς, τεθραμμένους· καρύους ἐφθοῖς, ἀπαλούς καὶ  
λευκοὺς σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ μήκος  
καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμ-  
προσθεν πάντα ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια. ἐζήτουν δὲ καὶ 33  
ταῖς ἐταίραις αἷς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμφανῶς ξυγγί-  
γνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτός σφισι. λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες  
οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρα- 34  
τευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν καὶ πλείστον τῶν  
Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. ἔν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ  
ὄντες ἐποίουν ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν,  
ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν, μόνον τε ὄντες ὁμοῖα ἔπρατ-  
τον ἅπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες, διελέγοντό τε ἑαυτοῖς  
καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι ὅπου  
τύχοιεν ὥσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς 5  
πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὁκτὼ σταθμούς,  
καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. οὗτοι ὀλίγοι ἦσαν καὶ  
ὑπήκοοι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλεί-  
στοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας· ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς  
Τιβερηνούς. ἡ δὲ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολλὴ ἦν 2  
πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἡττον ἐρυ-  
μνά. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔχρηζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία προσ-  
βάλλειν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ὀνηθῆναί τι, καὶ τὰ ξένια,  
ἃ ἦκε παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιμείναι

- 3 καλεύσαντες, ἵστε βουλευσάιντο, ἐθύοντο. καὶ πολλὰ καταθυσάωντων τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες πάντες γνώμην, ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσίοιντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐντεύθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὡς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀφίκοιντο εἰς Κοτύωρα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῇ Τιβαρητῶν χώρῃ.
- 4 Μέχρι ἐνταῦθα ἐπέξευσεν ἡ στρατιά. πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς Κοτύωρα σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι, χρόνου πλήθος ὀκτὼ μῆνες.
- 5 ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα πέντε. ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀγῶ-
- 6 νας γυμνικούς. τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐλάβανον τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρῆχον ἀγορὰν οὐδ' εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.
- 7 Ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως, ἣν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ φόρον ἐκείνοις ἔφερον, καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον δηουμένην. καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ Ἐκατόνυμος δεινὸς νομ-
- 8 ζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν· Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων πόλις ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς, ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνηθησομένους, ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, πραγμάτων σεσσωσμένοι πάρεστε.
- 9 ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς
- 10 ποιοῦντες. Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἀποικοὶ, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδω-

καμεν βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν  
φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τρα-  
πεζούντιοι ὡσαύτως· ὥστε ὃ, τι ἂν τούτους κακὸν  
ποιήσητε ἢ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. νῦν δὲ 11  
ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρεληλυθότας  
ἐνίους σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων βίᾳ  
λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν δέσθε οὐ πείθοντας. ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ 12  
ἀξιούμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κο-  
ρύλλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα  
φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιω- 13  
τῶν εἶπεν, 'Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγα-  
πῶντες ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα·  
οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν  
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς 14  
'Ελληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζούντῃ μὲν, πα-  
ρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι εἶχομεν τὰ ἐπιτή-  
δεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ  
στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος  
ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολε-  
μίους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦντο, κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν  
ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁποίων τινῶν 15  
ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας  
διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν ξυνέπεμψεν. ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες 16  
ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν ἂν τε εἰς  
'Ελληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη λαμβάνομεν τὰ  
ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλ- 17  
δαίους καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας ὅμως καὶ  
μᾶλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ  
ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ  
παρεῖχον. Μάκρωνας δὲ καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, 18  
ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οἶαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομι-  
ζομεν εἶναι καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων.  
Κοτυωρίτας δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν 19

- εὐλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοί εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι προσ-  
εφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὔτε εἶσω  
ἐδέχοντο οὔτε ἔξω ἀγορὰν ἔπεμπον· ἡτιῶντο δὲ τὸν  
20 παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρμωσθην τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. ὃ δὲ λέγεις  
βία παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἤξιούμεν τοὺς κάμνον-  
τας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέφρων τὰς  
πύλας, ἣ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταύτῃ εἰσελ-  
θόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν, σκηνοῦσι δ'  
ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες,  
καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ  
ἄρμωστῇ ὥσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἣ  
21 κομίσασθαι, ὅταν βουλῶμεθα. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε,  
σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν  
μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξα-  
22 σθαι. ἃ δὲ ἡπέλησας ὡς, ἣν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλαν καὶ  
Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς  
δέ, ἣν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἣ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις·  
ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμή-  
σαμεν· ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ φίλον ποιούμεθα τὸν  
23 Παφλαγόνα. ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς  
ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων. πει-  
ρασόμεθα οὖν συμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι  
γίγνεσθαι.
- 24 Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δήλοι ἦσαν οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις  
τῷ Ἑκατωνύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις, παρελ-  
θὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι  
ἤκοιεν, ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείζοντες, ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. καὶ ξενίοις,  
ἣν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξό-  
μεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνα-  
25 ται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε. ἐκ  
τούτου ξενία τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται καὶ οἱ στρα-  
τηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινωπέων πρέ-  
σβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ ἐπιτήδεια  
διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας  
ἐπυνθάνοντο καὶ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

Ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. τῇ 6  
 δὲ ὑστεραία ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας,  
 καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέ-  
 σαντας τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλευέσθαι. εἴτε γὰρ περὶ  
 δέοι πορεύεσθαι, χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινω-  
 πεῖς ἡγούμενοι· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας·  
 εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν, προσδεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι  
 γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκούντα  
 τῇ στρατιᾷ. καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυνεβου- 2  
 λεύοντο, καὶ ἤξιον Ἑλληνας ὄντας Ἑλλησι τούτῳ  
 πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι τῷ εὖνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ  
 βέλτιστα ξυμβουλεύειν.

Ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατόννυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογή- 3  
 σατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον ποιή-  
 σοιντο, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν  
 εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι τοὺς  
 Ἑλληνας αἰρήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμβουλεύειν ἐκέλευον, 4  
 ἐπευξάμενος ὧδε εἶπεν. Εἰ μὲν ξυμβουλεύοιμι ἃ βέλ-  
 τιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλὰ μοι κάγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ  
 δὲ μή, τάναντία. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ ξυμβουλὴ λεγομένη  
 εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρῆναι· νῦν γὰρ δὴ, ἂν μὲν εὖ ξυμ-  
 βουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με, ἂν  
 δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. πράγματα 5  
 μὲν οὖν οἷδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔξομεν, ἂν κατὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν κομίζωσθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορίζειν·  
 ἣν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μαχο-  
 μένους εἶναι. ὁμῶς δὲ λεκτέα ἃ γινώσκω· ἔμπειρος 6  
 γὰρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως. ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφότερα, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα  
 καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθὺς ἢ τὴν 7  
 εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη ἢ ἢ  
 τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψη-  
 λά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνν ὀλίγοι δύναιγτ' ἂν·  
 τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἄνθρωποι



- δύναντ' ἂν διελθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δείξαμι ἄν, εἰ μοι  
 8 τινὰ βούλοισθε ξυμπέμψαι. ἔπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία  
 ὄντα καὶ ἵππειαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι  
 κρεῖττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἵππειας. καὶ νῦν  
 οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μείζον  
 9 φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ δυνηθεῖτε τὰ τε θρῆ  
 κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι  
 μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἵππεῖς τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας  
 πλείον ἢ δώδεκα, ἤξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον  
 μὲν τὸν Θερμῶδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλε  
 πὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν  
 μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων·  
 δεύτερον δ' Ἴριον, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δ'  
 "Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίοις, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύνασθε  
 ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων;  
 ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε  
 10 ἄν, εἰ τὸν "Ἄλυν διαβαίητε. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν  
 ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύ  
 νατον. ἂν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην  
 παραπλεῦσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρα  
 κλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολ  
 λὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἔστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.  
 11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευν φίλιας  
 ἔνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ·  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν ξυμβουλὴν ταύ  
 την· οἱ δὲ ὑπώπτευν καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα λέγειν, ὥς μὴ  
 πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζοντο.  
 οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πο  
 12 ρεῖαν ποιεῖσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφὼν εἶπεν, ὦ Σινω  
 πείς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἡρῶνται πορεῖαν ἣν ὑμεῖς ξυμβου  
 λεύετε· οὕτω δὲ ἔχει· εἰ μὲν πλοῖα ἔσσεσθαι μέλλει  
 ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῷ ὥς ἓνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ πλέοιμεν ἄν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι,  
 οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα.

γυγνώσκουμεν γάρ, ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναί- 13  
 μεθ' ἂν καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δέ  
 που ἦττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθησόμεθα, εὐδῆλον δὴ  
 ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρα ἐσόμεθα. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα 14  
 οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις. καὶ πέμ-  
 πουσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀρίστων Ἀθηναῖον  
 καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιοόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὄρωντι μὲν 15  
 ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὄρωντι δὲ καὶ πελ-  
 ταστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἵπ-  
 πεῖς δὲ καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανοὺς, ὅντας δ'  
 ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων  
 τοσαύτη δύναμις παρεσκευάσθῃ, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει  
 εἶναι καὶ χώραν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσα-  
 σθαι πόλιν κατοικίσαντας. καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ 16  
 ἐδόκει μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένη τό τε αὐτῶν πλῆθος  
 καὶ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸν Πόντον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ἐθύετο πρῶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν Σίλανόν  
 παρακαλέσας, τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν Ἀμ-  
 βρακιώτην. ὁ δὲ Σίλανὸς δεδιώς, μὴ γένηται ταῦτα 17  
 καὶ καταμείνῃ πον ἡ στρατιά, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα λόγον, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμείναι τὴν  
 στρατιὰν καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύνα-  
 μιν περιποιήσασθαι. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σίλανὸς ἐβούλετο 18  
 ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὗς γὰρ παρὰ  
 Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικοὺς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέ-  
 ρας ἡλήθευσε θνόμενος Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει. τῶν δὲ 19  
 στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει βέλτιστον  
 εἶναι καταμείναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Τιμασίῳ δὲ ὁ  
 Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινας  
 παρόντας τῶν Ἑρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν,  
 ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐκποριεύσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθὸν ὥστε ἔχειν  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι το-  
 σαύτη δύναμις ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ· βουλεύεται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν

- καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε εἰ  
 20 πῦν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιῇ, Ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν ὁρῶμεν  
 ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπι-  
 τήδεια καὶ ὡς οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὀνήσαι τι τοὺς οἰκοί·  
 εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον  
 οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε κατασχεῖν,  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα  
 μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν  
 21 βούλησθε ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα  
 οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι· ξυνέπεμψε δ'  
 αὐτοῖς Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς Εὐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Δαρ-  
 δανέα καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιωτίον τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦν-  
 τας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες  
 πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Τιμασίωνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστα-  
 τεῦσαι λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιὰ.  
 22 ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ἐν ξυλλόγῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 ὄντων λέγει τάδε. Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὦ ἄνδρες,  
 οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι.  
 ἀκούω δὲ τινὰς δύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας.  
 23 ὑπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νομηνίας  
 μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν Κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός·  
 καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἔνθεν καὶ εἰμι φυγὰς,  
 καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόντες γάρ με δέξου-  
 24 ται. ἡγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα  
 λήψεσθε. ἔμπειρος δὲ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυ-  
 γίας καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πά-  
 σης, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνε-  
 στρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλίδῃ.  
 25 ἀναστὰς αὖθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίος, δς αἰεὶ περὶ στρα-  
 τηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ  
 Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον, χώραν καλὴν καὶ  
 εὐδαίμονα, ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βου-  
 λομένῳ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε. γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι  
 οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων

μαστεύειν. ἔστε δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, καὶ γὰρ κα- 26  
 θάπερ Τιμασίῳ, ὑπισχνούμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφοράν.  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν εἰδὼς ὁ Τιμασίῳ οἱ Ἑρακλεῶται καὶ  
 οἱ Σινωπεῖς ὑπισχνούντο ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ξενο- 27  
 φῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα. ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλῆσιος καὶ Λύκων  
 οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον ὡς δεινὸν εἶη ἰδίᾳ μὲν Ξενοφῶντα  
 πείθειν τε καταμένειν καὶ δύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μοιῆς μὴ  
 κοινούμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγο-  
 ρεύειν περὶ τούτων. ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀνα-  
 στῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε. Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δύομαι μὲν, 28  
 ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ὅποσα δύναμαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ  
 ἔμαντοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ  
 πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα  
 ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. καὶ νῦν ἐθύόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου,  
 εἰ ἄμεινον εἶη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν  
 περὶ τούτων ἢ παντάπασιν μηδὲ ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγμα-  
 τος. Σίλανός δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ μὲν 29  
 μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἥδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ  
 ἄπειρον ὄντα διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δέ,  
 ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί,  
 ὡς ἄρα γινγνώσκων, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν  
 με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐγὼ πράτ-  
 τειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ 30  
 μὲν ἑώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπουν, ἀφ'  
 οὗ ἂν γένοιτο ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν τὸν μὲν βου-  
 λόμενον ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ  
 κτήσαιτο ἱκανὰ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους ὠφελη-  
 σαί τι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας 31  
 Ἑρακλεῶτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν  
 ὑπισχνουμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νομηνίας, καλὸν μοι  
 δοκεῖ εἶναι σωζομένους ἔνθα βουλόμεθα μισθὸν τῆς σω-  
 τηρίας λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς  
 διανοίας, καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσήεσαν λέγοντες, ὡς  
 χρή ταῦτα πράττειν, παύεσθαι φημι χρῆναι. οὕτω γὰρ 32

γιγνώσκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί, ὥσπερ νυνί, δοκεῖτε  
 ἂν μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν  
 γὰρ τῷ κράτειν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡττώ-  
 νων· διασπασθέντες δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης  
 τῆς δυνάμεως οὐτ' ἂν τροφήν δύνασθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε  
 33 χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαιτε. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἅπερ ὑμῖν,  
 ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐάν τις μένῃ ἢ  
 ἀπολιπὼν ληφθῇ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στρα-  
 τευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ,  
 ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.  
 34 ὁ δὲ Σίλανός ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ὡς δίκαιον  
 εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ  
 ἡνέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπείλουν αὐτῷ, ὅτι, εἰ λήψονται ἀπο-  
 35 διδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ  
 ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἶη  
 καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα  
 πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίῳ  
 36 καὶ Θῶρακι ἐψυσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορᾶς. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρα-  
 τιάν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. παραλαβόντες  
 οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς οἱς ἀνεκεκοί-  
 νωντο ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, πάντες δ' ἦσαν πλὴν  
 Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει,  
 Χειρισόφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν, ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα,  
 καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκοίη κρά-  
 τιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἔστι, καὶ  
 37 κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. Αἰήτου δὲ υἱοῦς  
 ἐτύγχανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρί-  
 νато, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τοιούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν·  
 ὑμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεύς γνώμην  
 οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον λοχαγούς  
 πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. καὶ ἀπελθόντες ταῦτ'  
 ἐποιοῦν.

Ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο πραττόμενα. 7  
καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει, ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλ-  
λους στρατηγούς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας  
ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρα- 2  
τιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίνοντο καὶ  
κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο, καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ποιή-  
σειαν, οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν  
καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν  
κατέφυγον κατελεύσθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθάνετο Ξενο- 3  
φῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγο-  
ράν, καὶ μὴ ἑᾶσαι ξυλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέ-  
λευσε τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέγειν ἀγοράν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ 4  
κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως· ἐν-  
ταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγόρει, ὅτι  
ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε.

Ἄκουω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμὲ ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα 5  
ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. ἀκούσατε  
οὖν μου πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνωμαι ἀδικῶν,  
οὐ χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ'  
ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικρύντες οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως  
αὐτοῖς χρήσθε ὥσπερ ἄξιον. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφη, ἴστε δὴ· 6  
που, ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου δύεται, καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν  
μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἵεναι, πρὸς ἐσπέραν  
δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δὲ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβά-  
ρους, τοῦμπαλιν πρὸς ἔω. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτο ἂν  
δύναιτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι, ὡς ἥλιος ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει,  
δύεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν ;  
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω 7  
τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς  
Φᾶσιν, καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ  
εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτο οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν  
ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι, ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν, ὁπόταν νότος πνέῃ ;  
ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁπόταν γαλήνῃ ἢ ἐμβιβῶ. οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν 8  
ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἐν

- ἑκατον. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐμοὶ  
 9 πλείν μὴ βουλομένους ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἀγοίμῃ ; ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γινώσεσθε δὴπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκὼς εἰς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων ἔχοντες ὄπλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δολὴ δίκην ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ  
 10 ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος ; ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων κάμοι φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. καίτοι οὐ δικάως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι εἰ τις ἐθέλει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐργηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελόμενον ; τί γάρ ; ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδῶν εἰμι ; παρήμι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγα-  
 11 θόν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἶται τὰῦτα ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι  
 12 ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἄλλος ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε, οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται οἷον ὑποδείκουσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλευέσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ  
 13 πολεμίων, καὶ καταφρονηθῶμεν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε, ὅ,τι εἶη, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν, Ἐπίστασθέ που, ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βαρβαρικά, φίλια τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλων ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον, δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες ἀγοράσαντες  
 14 τι πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀφύλακτον διὰ τὸ

φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς  
 ὥς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών. διενενόητο δέ, εἰ 15  
 λάβοι τὸδε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι  
 ἐλθεῖν, ἐμβὰς δὲ εἰς πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγγανον οἱ ξύσκη-  
 νοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθήμενος εἰ τι λάβοι,  
 ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνω-  
 μολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὥς ἐγὼ 16  
 νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπόσους ἔπειθεν  
 ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει  
 ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ ξυστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυ-  
 ρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες τὸν τε Κλεάρητον  
 ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγχρούς, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ  
 εἰς Κερασοῦντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν 17  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμώμεν περὶ τῶν δὲ  
 πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασοῦντι, οὐπω ἀνηγμέ-  
 νοι. μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν, ἀφι-  
 κνύνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν γεραιτέ-  
 ρων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρήζοντες ἐλθεῖν.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς Κερασουντίους 18  
 ἔλεγον, ὅτι θανμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐ-  
 τοὺς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφέεις λέγειν, ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μέλ-  
 λειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὥς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς  
 νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας τοὺς τούτου  
 δεομένους. τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὲς Ἑλλήνων ἔτυ- 19  
 χον ἔτι ὄντες ἐν Κερασοῦντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους ὅποι ἴοιεν αὐτοὶ τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν τοῖς  
 λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες  
 ἀποθνήσκουσι τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις καταλευσθέντες.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερα- 20  
 σούντιοι καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρα-  
 τηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ  
 ἐβουλευόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, ὅπως ἂν ταφείη-  
 σαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. συγκαθήμενοι δ' ἔξωθεν 21



τῶν ὅπλων ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ, Παιε,  
 παιε, βάλλε, βάλλε, καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρώμεν πολλοὺς  
 προσθέοντας λίθους ἔχοντας ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ  
 22 ἀναιρουμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν Κερασούντιοι, ὥς ἂν καὶ  
 ἐωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρῶγμα, δείσαντες ἀποχω-  
 ροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. ἦσαν δὲ νῆ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ  
 23 ἔδεισαν. ἐγὼ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡρώτων,  
 ὅ,τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρῶγμα. τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν οἱ οὐδὲν ᾔδεσαν,  
 ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδότες τὴν  
 ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι, ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποι-  
 24 οῦσι τὸ στράτευμα. ἐν τούτῳ τις ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον  
 Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα, καὶ ἀνέ-  
 κραγεν· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἡ σὺς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλά-  
 25 φου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. οἱ δ' αὖ Κερασούντιοι  
 ὡς εἶδον ὀρμῶντας καθ' αὐτούς, σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ  
 σφᾶς ἴεσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν  
 θάλατταν. ξυνεισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες,  
 καὶ ἐπνύγετο ὅστις νεῖν μὴ ἐτύγγανε ἐπιστάμενος.  
 26 καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε ; ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δέ,  
 μὴ λῦττα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτώκοι. εἰ οὖν  
 ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε, οἷα ἢ κατάστασις  
 27 ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ  
 ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον φ' ἂν βούλησθε  
 οὔτε καταλύσαι, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἄξει στράτευμα  
 ἐφ' ὅ,τι ἂν θέλῃ. καὶ ἂν τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις  
 ἢ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακαυόντες τού-  
 τους οἱ βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ  
 28 ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. ἔπειτα δὲ οὗς μὲν ἂν  
 ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἐλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρᾳ ἔσου-  
 ται, ὅστις δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἐληται στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐθέλῃ  
 λέγειν, Βάλλε, βάλλε, οὗτος ἔσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα  
 κατακαίνει καὶ ἰδιώτην δὴ ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ ἄκριτον, ἢ  
 ὧσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο.  
 29 οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὔτοι

στρατηγοὶ σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀγορανό-  
 μος εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων οὐ δούς ὑμῖν  
 δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος  
 δέσας, μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. οἱ δὲ καταλεί- 30  
 σαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ἂν μὴ  
 σὺν ἰσχύϊ ἀφικνήσθῃ· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς, οἷς πρόσθεν  
 αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακαίνοντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τούτους διε-  
 πράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκίῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἀνελέ-  
 σθαι. τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσῃ κήρυξ ἵεναι κήρυκας ἀπεκτο-  
 νῶς ; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθη- 31  
 μεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἵνα  
 ὡς τοιούτων ἐσομένων καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις  
 καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια πειρᾶται ἔχων σκηνοῦν.  
 εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι 32  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ, πρὸς Διὸς πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως ποιοῦντες  
 ἔργα ἀσεβή, ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχούμεθα, ἣν ἀλλήλους  
 κατακαίνωμεν ; πόλις δὲ φίλια τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἥ τις 33  
 ἂν ὀρᾷ τοσαύτην ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν ; ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει  
 θαρρῶν, ἣν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες  
 φαινόμεθα ; οὐ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαί-  
 νου, τίς ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιούτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσειεν ; ἡμεῖς  
 μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίμεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.

Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν 34  
 τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι  
 ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρξῃ, ἀγεσθαι αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας  
 καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο τις ἠδίκητο  
 ἐξ οὗ Κύρος ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς  
 ἐποίησαντο. παραινούντος δὲ Ξενοφώντος καὶ τῶν 35  
 μάντεων συμβουλευόντων ἔδοξε καὶ καθῆραι τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα. καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρμός.

- 8 Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσχέειν τοὺς παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. καὶ διδόντων Φιλίσιος μὲν ὤφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα εἴκοσι μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰρεθεὶς κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφώντας δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες φάσκοντες παλεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
- 2 ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφὼν ἀναστὰς ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα, ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήρη. ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται, "Ὅπου καὶ τῷ
- 3 ῥίγῃ ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ χιὼν πλείστη ἦν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ χειμῶνός γε ὄντος οἶον λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότες, οἶνου δὲ μηδ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὑβρίζον, ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς
- 4 ὑβρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ὁμῶς δὲ καὶ λέξον, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήρης. πότερον ἤτουν σέ τι καὶ ἐπεὶ μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπήτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ
- 5 παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρφύνησα; ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, εἰ ὀπλιτεύοι. οὐκ ἔφη. πάλιν, εἰ πελτάζοι. οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων ἐλεύθερος
- 6 ὢν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγινώσκει αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο, Ἦ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀγαγών; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. σὺ γὰρ ἠνάγκαζες. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διέρριψας.
- 7 Ἄλλ' ἢ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφὼν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο. διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. οἶον δὲ τὸ
- 8 πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ἀκούσατε, ἔφη. καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον. ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι εἰς ἡμῶν εἴη. ἠνάγκασα δὲ σὲ τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὥς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο. καὶ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ εἶμαι, πολέμοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο.

συνέφη τούτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, 9  
 ἐπεὶ προῦπεμφά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐθις σὺν τοῖς  
 ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιὼν βόθρον ὀρύττοντα ὡς κατορύ-  
 ζοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιστάς ἐπήνουν σε. ἐπεὶ 10  
 δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἀνὴρ,  
 ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες, ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ, σὺ δ' εἶπας,  
 Ὅποσα γε βούλεται· ὡς ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξω. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέγεις· ἔδοξας γάρ μοι  
 εἰδότε ἰοικέσαι, ὅτι ἔζη. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἡττόν τι ἀπέ- 11  
 θανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν; Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς,  
 ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν  
 ἔνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι; τούτον μὲν 12  
 ἀνέκραγον πάντες ὡς ὀλίγας παῖσειεν· ἄλλους δ' ἐκέ-  
 λευε λέγειν, διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ 13  
 ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ  
 παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἔνεκεν ἀταξίας ὅσοις σώζεσθαι μὲν  
 ἥρκει δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων ὅπου  
 δέοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις προθέοντες ἀρπά-  
 ζειν ἤθελον καὶ ἡμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. εἰ δὲ τούτο πάντες  
 ἐποιοῦμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. ἤδη δὲ καὶ μαλα- 14  
 κιζόμενόν τινα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ  
 προϊέμενον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἔπαισα καὶ ἐβια-  
 σάμην πορεύεσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους καθεζό-  
 μενος συχνὸν χρόνον κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις καὶ  
 τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας. ἐν ἐμᾶντῳ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν ἐκ 15  
 τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὅποτε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλα-  
 κεύοντα, ἤλανον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδρῖζεσθαι  
 παρείχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα, τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι  
 καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπή-  
 γνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆπυσθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν  
 δακτύλους, ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας.  
 ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ὑπολειπόμενόν που διὰ ῥαστώνην 16  
 καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς

ὀπισθεν πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ  
 17 τῶν πολεμίων παίσιτο. καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστω αὐ-  
 τοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον,  
 δίκην λαβεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί  
 μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἠξίουν λα-  
 18 βάνειν; ἀπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰ μὲν  
 ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἷαν καὶ  
 γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶ. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ  
 19 καίουσι καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ. εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομί-  
 ζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ  
 θάρρῳ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε καὶ θρασύτερος  
 εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω, ἀλλ' ὁμως οὐ-  
 20 δένα παίω· ἐν εὐδία γὰρ ὀρώ ὑμᾶς. ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν  
 ᾗ καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ ὁράτε, ὅτι καὶ  
 νεύματος μόνου ἕνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρῶτος τοῖς  
 ἐν πρῶτῳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ;  
 ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα πάν-  
 21 τα συνεπιτρίψαι. ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε τότε· ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους,  
 παρέστητε, καὶ ἐξήν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβού-  
 λεσθε. ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε οὔτε  
 22 σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε. τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν  
 ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐὼντες αὐτοῖς.  
 οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε  
 23 καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. Βοτόκος  
 γοῦν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλὸς τότε μὲν διεμάχετο ὡς  
 κάμνων ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δ', ὡς ἀκούω, Κοττω-  
 24 ριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέδυκεν. ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε,  
 τοῦτον τάναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς  
 μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδάσκει,  
 τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι, τοῦτον δέ, ἦν σωφρονῆτε, τὴν  
 25 νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε. ἀλλὰ γάρ,  
 ἔφη, θανμάζω, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τιτι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην, μέ-  
 μνησθε καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δὲ τῷ ἢ χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα

ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυξα ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦντι συνεξέ-  
πόρισά τι, τούτων οὐδεὶς μέμνηται, οὐδ' εἴ τινα καλῶς  
τι ποιοῦντα ἐπήνεσα οὐδ' εἴ τιν' ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν  
ἐτίμησα ὥς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲ τούτων μέμνησθε. ἀλλὰ 26  
μὴν καλὸν γε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἡδίων τῶν ἀγα-  
θῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνήσθαι.

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμύμνησκον.  
καὶ περιεγέμετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

## BOOK VI.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς 1  
ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληιζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας.  
ἐκλώπευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγῶνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς ἀπο-  
σκεδαννυμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς προσω σκη-  
νοῦντας ἐπειρώντο κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τούτων. ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς 2  
ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις ἔχοντας ἵππους καὶ στολὰς καλὰς,  
λέγοντας, ὅτι Κορύλας ἔτοιμος εἴη τοὺς Ἕλληνας μῆτε  
ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, 3  
ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ βουλευέσονται,  
ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ  
τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐδόκουν δικαιοτάτους εἶναι.  
θύσαντες δὲ βούς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα 4  
εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρείχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν  
στιβάσιν ἐδείπνου, καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατίνων ποτη-  
ρίων, οἷς ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ σπουδαῖ 5  
τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν  
Θρᾶκες καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις  
καὶ ἡλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις  
ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὥς πᾶσιν

- ἐδόκει πεπληγῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα· ὁ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς  
 6 πῶς. καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγῶνες. καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυ-  
 λεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἐτέρου ἐξῆι ἄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν·  
 ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνη-  
 7 κότα· ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. μετὰ τοῦτο Διινῖνες  
 καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν  
 8 καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως  
 ἦν, ὁ μὲν παραθέμενος τὰ ὄπλα σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ  
 πυκνὰ μεταστρεφόμενος ὡς φοβούμενος, ληστής δὲ  
 προσέρχεται· ὁ δ' ἐπειδὴν προῖδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπά-  
 σας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μάχεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὔτοι  
 ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ  
 ληστής δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος ἀπάγει· ἐνίστε  
 δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληστήν· εἴτα παρὰ τοὺς βούς  
 9 ζεύξας ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει. μετὰ τοῦτο  
 Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην,  
 καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος ὠρ-  
 χεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρήτο ταῖς πέλταις, τοτὲ  
 δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ἔχων τὰς πέλτας, ὥστε  
 10 ὄψιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. τέλος δὲ τὸ περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο  
 κρούων τὰς πέλτας, καὶ ὠκλαζε καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ  
 11 ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῷ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν. ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν  
 Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλ-  
 λιστα ἤεσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ, πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν  
 αὐλούμενοι, καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν  
 ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. ὀρώντες δὲ οἱ Πα-  
 φλαγῶνες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἐν  
 12 ὄπλοις εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀρών ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκπεπλη-  
 γμένους αὐτοὺς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰ πεπαμένον  
 ὀρχηστρίδα εἰσάγει σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα  
 καὶ ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρ-  
 13 ρίχην ἐλαφρῶς. ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολὺς, καὶ οἱ  
 Παφλαγῶνες ἤρουντο, εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐ-

τοῖς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἰεν βασιλεία ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τῇ μὲν οὖν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στράτευμα· 14 καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγῶνας μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ὄχοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρῆναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι καλῷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ 15 ἀφικνούνται εἰς Σινώπην καὶ ὠρμίσαντο εἰς Ἀρμῆνιν τῆς Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἀποικοὶ εἰσιν. οὗτοι δὲ ξένια πέμπουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλφίτων μὲν μεδίμνους τρισχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ κεράμια χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια. καὶ Χειρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρῃ ἔχων. καὶ οἱ μὲν 16 στρατιῶται προσεδόκων ἄγοντά τί σφισιν ἦκειν· ὁ δ' ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δέ, ὅτι ἐπαινοίῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφικνοῖντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσσεσθαι. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρμῇνι ἔμειναν οἱ 17 στρατιῶται ἡμέρας πέντε. ὥς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γίνεσθαι, ἤδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτούς, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται. ἠγγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἓνα ἔλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ 18 πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἓνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὖ δέοι φθάνειν, ἦττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περαίνεσθαι ἂν· τὸν δ' ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐπραττον πάντα οἱ 19 στρατηγοί. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα διανοοῦντο, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιώντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γιγνώσκει, καὶ εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστος ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν



- 20 ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν πῇ μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μεῖζω οὕτως γέγενεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦνομα μεῖζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ
- 21 στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. ὁπότε δ' αὖ ἐνθυμοῖτο, ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπῃ τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν,
- 22 ἢ πορεῖτο. διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρίναι ἔδοξε κρᾶτιστον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παραστησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἑωρακέναι, ὃ εἶδεν, ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνεπιμελείσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθί-
- 23 στασθαι. καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου δὲ ὠρμάτω Κύρῳ συσταθησόμενος αἰτὸν ἀνεμνησκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθήμενον μέντοι, ὅσπερ ὁ μάντις ὁ προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος, ἐπίπονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν γὰρ αἰτὸν
- 24 πετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. οὕτω δὴ ἰδυμένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε, εἰ αἰροῖντο, ἀποδέχεσθαι.
- 25 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνήλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἓνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προεβάλλοντο αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει δηλὸν εἶναι, ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε.
- 26 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἴπερ ἀνθρωπὸς εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω καὶ εὐχομαι δοῦναι μοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτιὸν τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα λακε-

δαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος οὔτε ὑμῖν μοι δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἤττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν εἴ τι δέοισθε παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐμοί τε αὖ οὐ πάνυ τι νομίζω ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο. ὁρῶ γάρ, ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι 27 μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὡμολόγησαν, εὐθύς 28 ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρησαν τὴν πόλιν. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐγὼ δοκοῖην, ὅπου δυναίμην, ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίωμα, ἐκείνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθεῖην. ὃ δὲ 29 ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἤττον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε ἐμὲ στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γάρ, ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὦν στασιάζει πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐμὲ ἔλῃσθε, οὐκ ἂν θανατάσαιοι, εἴ τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε, πολλὸν πλείονες ἐξανίσταντο 30 λέγοντες, ὥς δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν, ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι, εἰ ὀργιούνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐὰν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμποσίαρχον αἰρῶνται. ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔφη, οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου ἀνεθορύβησαν. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν 31 ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν εἶπεν, Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὥς πάνυ εἰδήτε, ὁμνύω ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἢ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἤσθανόμην, ἐθνόμην, εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑποστήναι· καὶ μοι οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ. οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ 32

ἤρθε, παρελθὼν εἶπεν, Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἐστασίαζον, εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε. Ξενοφῶντα μέντοι, ἔφη, ὠνήσατε οὐχ ἐλόμενοι· ὥς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον ὃ, τι ἐδύνατο καὶ μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔφη νομίζειν αὐτὸν Τιμασίῳ μᾶλλον συνάρχειν ἐβελῆσαι Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι τοῦ Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος ἢ ἑαυτῷ  
 33 Δάκωνι ὄντι. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὃ, τι ἂν δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε ὥς αὔριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκείσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἐπειδὰν ἐκείσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.

2 Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι ἔπλεον καλῶ ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. καὶ παραπλέοντες ἐθεώρουσαν τὴν τε Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν, ἔνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἰριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἄλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ παραπλεύσαντες ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἀποικον, οὖσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μαρριαν-  
 2 δυνῶν χώρᾳ. καὶ ὀρμίσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷδι Χερρονήσῳ, ἔνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερὸν κύνα καταβῆναι, ἣ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύουσι τῆς καταβάσεως, τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια.  
 3 ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τρισχιλίους καὶ οἶνον κεράμα δισχίλια καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι καὶ οἷς ἑκατὸν. ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ρεῖ ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὥς δύο πλέθρων.

4 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέντες ἐβουλευόντο τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρῆ πορευθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιὸς εἶπε, Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν,

ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν  
 γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν  
 σιτία· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευσόμεθα οὐκ  
 ἔστιν, ἔφη. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἑρακλεώτας  
 μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τρισχιλίους κυζικηνοὺς· ἄλλος δ' εἶπε 5  
 μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα  
 μάλα ἡμῶν καθημένων πέμπειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ  
 εἰδέναι ὃ, τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βου-  
 λεύεσθαι. ἐντεύθεν προὔβάλλοντο πρέσβεις πρῶτον 6  
 μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ἦρητο, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενο-  
 φῶντα. οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταῦτα  
 ἐδόκει μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φίλαν ὃ, τι  
 μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῖεν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐδόκουν 7  
 ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπουσι Δύκωνα Ἀχαιοὺν καὶ Καλ-  
 λίμαχον Παρράσιον καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. οὗτοι  
 ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα· τὸν δὲ Δύκωνα ἔφασαν  
 καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα. ἀκούσαντες 8  
 δ' οἱ Ἑρακλεῶται βουλευσεσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ εὐθύς  
 τά τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνήγησεν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν  
 εἴσω ἀνεσκεύασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν τειχῶν ὄπλα ἐφαίνετο.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταραξάντες ταῦτα τοὺς στρατηγούς 9  
 ἡτιῶντο διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ  
 Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐ-  
 τῶν Καλλίμαχος τε ὁ Παρράσιος καὶ Δύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός.  
 οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, ὥς αἰσχροὺς εἶη ἄρχειν ἕνα 10  
 Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδε-  
 μίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν πόρους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα  
 τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς  
 κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο  
 στράτευμα οὐδεν εἶναι. καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῶν τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοί.  
 εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν οὗτοι, συστάντες καὶ στρατηγούς 11

ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο  
 12 καὶ πειρῶντο ἀγαθὸν τι λαμβάνειν. ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ  
 ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον εἰ τινας ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ  
 Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα συνέστησαν καὶ  
 στρατηγοὺς αἰροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψη-  
 φίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ὃ, τι δοκοίη, τοῦτο ποιεῖν.  
 ἢ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφῳ ἐνταῦθα κατε-  
 λύθη ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτη ἢ ἐβδόμῃ ἀφ' ἧς ἤρέθη.

13 Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι  
 ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν  
 καθ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου, ὅτι  
 Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρμοστής φαίη τριήρεις ἔχων  
 14 ἤξειν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα· ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ  
 τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. καὶ Χειρίσο-  
 φος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν  
 15 ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὃ, τι  
 βούλεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαλ-  
 λαγεῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεύσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ  
 ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα λῶν καὶ  
 ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεῦεσθαι ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς  
 16 τοῖς ἱεροῖς συστρατεῦεσθαι. οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα τριχῇ, Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τε-  
 τρακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ὀπλῆται πάντες, Χειρί-  
 σόφῳ δ' ὀπλῆται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χίλους,  
 πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θράκες,  
 Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὀπλῆται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χίλους,  
 πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππικὸν δὲ μόνος οὗτος  
 εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἵππεας.

17 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ  
 τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πρῶτοι πλέουσιν, ὅπως ἐξάιψης  
 ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς λάβοιεν ὅτι πλείστα· καὶ

ἀποβαίνουνσιν εἰς Κάλπη λιμένα κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς  
 Θράκης. Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν 18  
 Ἑρακλεωτῶν ἀρξάμενος πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώ-  
 ρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Θράκην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατ-  
 ταν ἦει· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἡσθένει. Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα 19  
 λαβὼν ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Θράκης καὶ τῆς  
 Ἑρακλεώτιδος καὶ διὰ μεσογαίας ἐπορεύετο.

[Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἦ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ 3  
 παντὸς κατελύθη καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα  
 ἐσχίσθη ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται.] Ἐπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν  
 ἕκαστοι τάδε. οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες ὡς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς 2  
 εἰς Κάλπη λιμένα, πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας,  
 στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς  
 ἐγένετο, ἦγεν ἕκαστος στρατηγὸς τὸ αὐτοῦ λάχος ἐπὶ  
 κώμῃ· ὅποια δὲ μείζων ἐδόκει εἶναι σύνδνο λόχους  
 ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. συνεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον, εἰς δὲ 3  
 δύοι πάντας ἀλλέεσθαι· καὶ αἶτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες  
 ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ πε-  
 ριεβάλοντο. οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες ἡθροίζοντο οἱ διαφεύγοντες· 4  
 πολλοὶ δὲ διέφευγον πελτασταὶ θυτεσὶ ὀπλίτας ἐξ αὐ-  
 τῶν τῶν χειρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ  
 Σμίκρητος λόχῳ ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν ἀπι-  
 ὄντι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγοντι  
 ἐπιτίθενται. καὶ τέως μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι 5  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐ-  
 τοὺς, καὶ αὐτόν τε τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτινύνουσι καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρα-  
 τηγῶν τοῦ Ἡγήσανδρου ὀκτὼ μόνους κατέλιπον· καὶ  
 αὐτὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐσώθη. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν λοχαγοὶ 6  
 συνήλθον οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν οἱ δὲ ἄνευ πραγμά-  
 των· οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύ-  
 χημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους καὶ συνελέγοντο ἔρρω-  
 μένως τῆς νυκτός. καὶ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν  
 λόφον, ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, ἐτάττοντο

- καὶ ἵππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ αἰὲ πλείους  
 7 συνέρρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀσφα-  
 λῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον οὔτε  
 ἀκοντιστὴν οὔτε ἵππεά· οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες καὶ προσε-  
 λαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν, ῥαδίως  
 8 ἀπέφευγον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπετίθεντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
 πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς· ὥστε κινήθῃναι  
 οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ  
 9 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾶκες. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἀπορία πολλή ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδουσαν  
 οἱ Θρᾶκες αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ  
 ἴσχετο. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.  
 10 Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατ-  
 ταν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπησ λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δὲ διὰ  
 τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένῳ οἱ ἵππεῖς προκαταθέοντες  
 ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. καὶ ἐπεὶ  
 ἤχθησαν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτούς, εἴ που  
 11 ἦσθηνται ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. οἱ  
 δὲ ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορ-  
 κοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾶκες πάντες περικεκυκλω-  
 μένοι εἰεν αὐτούς. ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους τού-  
 τους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες εἰεν ὅποι δέοι·  
 σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ  
 12 ἔλεξεν, Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν  
 τεθνήσκειν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται.  
 νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ ἐκείνοι ἀπολούνται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν εἶναι  
 οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων πολεμίων,  
 13 οὕτω δὲ τεθαρρηκότων. κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν ὥς τάχι-  
 στα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅπως, εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν  
 ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα καὶ μὴ μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ  
 14 κινδυνεύωμεν. νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευσώμεθα προελ-  
 θόντες ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖ-  
 σθαι· ἕως δ' ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίῳ ἔχων τοὺς

ἵππεῖς προελαννέτω ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σκοπεῖτω τὰ  
 ἔμπροσθεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ. παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ 15  
 τῶν γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ  
 εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως, εἴ ποῦ τί ποθεν καθορῶεν, σημαί-  
 νοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καλεῖν ἅπαντα ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυ-  
 σίμῳ· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀποδραϊήμεν ἂν οὐδαμοῖ ἐνθένδε.  
 πολλή μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, 16  
 πολλή δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι  
 πλησίον· εἰς Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰ-  
 κάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. ἀλλὰ δὴ  
 ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστιν, οἷς ἀποπλευσούμεθα, μένουσι  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. τῶν δὲ 17  
 πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων σὺν τοῖς Χειρισόφου μό-  
 νοις κάκιόν ἐστι διακινδυνεύειν ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων  
 πάντας εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχε-  
 σθαι. ἀλλὰ χρὴ παρασκευασαμένους τὴν γνώμην  
 πορεύεσθαι, ὥς νῦν ἢ εὐκλεῶς τελευτῆσαι ἔστιν ἢ  
 κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι Ἑλλήνας τοσοῦτους  
 σώσαντας. καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἄγει οὕτως, ὃς τοὺς μεγα- 18  
 ληγορήσαντας ὥς πλέον φρονούντας ταπεινῶσαι βού-  
 λεται, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχομένους ἐντιμωτέ-  
 ρους ἐκείνων καταστήσαι. ἀλλ' ἔπεσθαι χρὴ καὶ  
 προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὥς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνη-  
 σθε ποιεῖν.

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἡγήτο. οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς διασπειρόμενοι 19  
 ἐφ' ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν ἔκαιον ἢ ἐβάδιζον, καὶ οἱ πελτα-  
 σταὶ ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἔκαιον πάντα ὅσα  
 καύσιμα ἐώρων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τιτι παραλειπο-  
 μένῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἰθεσθαι ἐδό-  
 κει καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, 20  
 κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ τά τε  
 τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἐώρων, ἀπεῖχον δὲ ὥς τετταρά-  
 κοντα σταδίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείστα πυρὰ  
 ἔκαιον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγγέλθη τὰ 21



πυρὰ κατασβεννύναι πάντα. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα φι-  
 λακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάβευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προ-  
 ευξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ συνταξάμενοι ὥς εἰς μάχην  
 22 ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Τιμασίῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 ἱππεῖς ἔχοντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ προελαύνοντες ἐλάν-  
 θανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι, ἔνθα ἐπολιορ-  
 κούντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶσιν οὔτε φίλῳ  
 στράτευμα οὔτε πολέμιον, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσι  
 πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα, γράδια δὲ καὶ  
 γερόντια καὶ πρόβατα ὀλῆα καὶ βοὺς καταλελειμ-  
 23 μένους. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν, τί εἴη τὸ γεγε-  
 νημένον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθί-  
 νοντο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θράκες εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ὄχοντο  
 ἀπιόντες, ἔωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχε-  
 σθαι· ὅπου δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.

24 Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἤρι-  
 στήσαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλόμενοι ὥς  
 τάχιστα συμμίξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα  
 καὶ πορεύεμενοι ἐώρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ  
 Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο  
 εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ἄσμενοί τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡσπάζοντο  
 25 ὥσπερ ἀδελφούς. καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὰν  
 περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς μὲν  
 γάρ, ἔφασαν, φόμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ  
 πυρὰ οὐχ ἐωρώμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἤξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὥς γε ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο  
 δείσαντες ἀπήλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν  
 26 χρόνον ἀπήεσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκεσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος  
 ἐξῆκεν, φόμεθα ὑμᾶς πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φοβη-  
 θέντας οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει  
 ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολιπέσθαι ὑμῶν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.

4 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἡυλίζοντο ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, δ

καλεῖται Κάλπησ λιμὴν, ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ τῇ ἐν  
τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἡ Θράκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
στομάτος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἑρακλείας ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς 2  
Ἑράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας μάλα μακρᾶς  
πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε  
φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρᾶκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὐδ'  
ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ ἐκπύπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως  
δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν λέγονται τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ὁ δὲ Κάλπησ 3  
λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ  
Ἑρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θάλαττῃ  
προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκον  
αὐτοῦ πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος ὅπῃ ἐλάχιστον οὐ μείον  
εἴκοσιν ὀργυῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ  
χωρίου μάλιστα τεττάρων πλέθρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ'  
ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχένος χωρίον ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀνθρώποις  
οἰκῆσαι. λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέ- 4  
ραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἀφθο-  
νος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θάλαττῃ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ  
τοῦ χωρίου. ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ δὲ  
πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θάλαττῃ.  
τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι εἰς μεσόγαιαν μὲν ἀνήκει 5  
ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἀλι-  
θον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι στα-  
δίους δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλαις  
ξύλοις. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι 6  
ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ εὖ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει γὰρ ἡ  
γῆ καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα καὶ μελί-  
νας καὶ σήσαμα καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα καὶ ἀμπέλους  
πολλὰς καὶ ἡδυόμους καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πλὴν ἐλαιῶν.  
ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοιαύτη. ἐσκήνουν δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ 7  
πρὸς τῇ θάλαττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον  
οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ  
ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν

- 8 κατοικίσαι πόλιν. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείους ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσανηλωκότες χρήματα, καὶ τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες ὥς χρημάτων αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι ἤζοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν τοιοῦτοι οὖν ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῶζεσθαι.
- 9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταῦτον συνόδου, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν· ἐπενδύει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐγένετο, εἶποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς τοὺς πλείστους ἐθαπερ ἔπεσον ἐκάστους ἔθαψαν· ἥδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι καὶ οὐχ οἷον τε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι ἦν· ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὥς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ εὕρισκον, κενοτάφισαν.
- 10 αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ συνήλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες· συνήγε δὲ μάλιστα Ἀγασίας [τε] Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος Ἠλείος λοχαγὸς καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν
- 11 Ἀρκάδων. καὶ δόγμα ἐποίησαντο, εἴαν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπικέαι ἢ περὶ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἥδη τετελευτήκει φάρμακον πῶον πυρέττων· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων Ἀσιναιῶς παρέλαβε.
- 12 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὥς ἔοικε, δῆλον ὅτι πέφυκται ποιητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοία· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἥδη· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἡμεῖς μὲν

οὖν, ἔφη, θυσόμεθα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς  
μαχουμένους εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι  
ἀνατεθαρρήκασιν. ἐκ τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, 13  
μάντις δὲ παρῆν Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὃ δὲ Σίλανός ὁ  
Ἀμβρακιώτης ἤδη ἀποδεδράκει πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος  
ἐξ Ἑρακλείας. θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγί-  
γνετο τὰ ἱερά. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. 14  
καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν βουλόμενος  
τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν, ὡς τὰ  
ἱερά οὐ γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας τῇ 15  
αὔριον παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καί,  
μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγέλλας παρεῖναι ὡς συνθεα-  
σόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρήσαν πολλοί.  
θυομένων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρίς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο 16  
τὰ ἱερά. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται·  
καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν, ἃ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ  
ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία παρῆν.

Ἐκ τούτου ξυνελθόντων εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν, ὧν 17  
ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερά οὐπω  
γίγνεται· τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους·  
ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου.  
ἀναστὰς δὲ τις εἶπε, Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται 18  
τὰ ἱερά· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκουτος  
πλοίου ἤκουσά τινος ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου  
ἀρμοστής μέλλει ἤξειν πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων. ἐκ 19  
τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπι-  
τήδεια ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐξιέναι· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο  
εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ  
σκηπὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφώντος ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν  
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν μὴ γιγνο-  
μένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα 20  
ἡ στρατιὰ διὰ τὸ μέλειν ἅπασιν ἐκυκλοῦντο περὶ τὰ  
ἱερά· τὰ δὲ θύματα ἐπιλελοίπει. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί

- 21 ἐξήγον μὲν οὖν, συνεκάλεσαν δέ. εἶπεν οὖν Ξενοφών,  
 "Ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχε-  
 σθαι. εἰ οὖν καταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ  
 χωρίῳ ὥς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένοι ἵοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν  
 22 τὰ ἱερὰ μᾶλλον προχωροῖν ἡμῖν. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ  
 στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον, ὥς οὐδὲν δέον εἰς τὸ χωρίον  
 ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὥς τάχιστα. καὶ πρόβατα μὲν  
 οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο·  
 καὶ Ξενοφών Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυ-  
 μείσθαι, εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐγένετο.
- 23 Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου  
 μέρος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὥς εἶχον δεινῶς  
 τῇ ἐνδείᾳ, βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, εὐρών τινα  
 ἀνθρώπου Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγύς εἶδέναι,  
 ὃθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε τὸν βουλόμενον  
 ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὥς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου. ἐξέρ-  
 χονται δὴ σὺν δορατίοις καὶ ἀσκοῖς καὶ θυλάκοις καὶ  
 24 ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμας καὶ διεσπείροντο ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμ-  
 βάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς  
 πρῶτοι· βεβροθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, βου-  
 λόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀποκωλύσαι  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὴ ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν· οὗτοι οἱ  
 ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μείων πεντακο-  
 25 σίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον. ἐκ τούτου  
 ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποπεφευγόντων εἰς τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον. καὶ Ξενοφών, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐγεγένητο τὰ  
 ἱερὰ ταῦτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης, οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα, σφαγιασάμενος ἐβοήθει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 26 οἱ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἅπαντες. καὶ ἀναλαβόντες  
 τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται.  
 καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 μάλ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐξαπίνης  
 διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς

ροφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκανον τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρι  
τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ 27  
πλα πάντες ἔδραμον οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν  
ὡς κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει  
αἰ· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις  
νυκτέρουν φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοὺς φύλαξι.

Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 5  
στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἡγοῦντο· οἱ δὲ  
τοιοῦτο ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. πρὶν δὲ  
ἴσθαι ὥραν εἶναι ἀπετάφρευσαν ἢ ἡ εἰσόδος ἦν εἰς  
χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες  
εἰς πύλας. καὶ πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν ἀλφίτα 2  
ον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον. πρῶτ' ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν  
ἔπεξόδια, καὶ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου  
εἴου. καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν ὁρᾷ ἀετὸν  
ριον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων Παρράσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι  
λεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. καὶ διαβάντες τὴν τάφρον 3  
ὅπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστήσαντες ἐξίεναι  
ς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ  
ῖράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες 4  
εσαν, Νέων δὲ οὐ· ἐδόκει γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι τοῦ-  
φύλακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπεὶ  
οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλιπον αὐτούς,  
χυνόμενοι μὴ ἐφέπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων, κατέ-  
ον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη.  
οὔτοι μὲν ἔμενον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο. πρὶν δὲ 5  
τεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νε-  
ς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ  
πρώτους φανέντας νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον πάντας, ὅπό-  
ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους 6  
σαν, προσαγαγόντες καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὐθις ποιησά-  
ι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων ἔθαπτον τὸν  
ν τρόπον ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν ἡ στρατιὰ. ἐπεὶ  
ς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο  
οι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.

- 7 Ἦδη δὲ πέρα μεσούσης τῆς ἡμέρας προαγαγόντες  
τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτή-  
δεια, ὃ, τι τις ὀρώη ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ ἐξαίφνης  
ὀρώσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους  
τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος,  
8 ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης  
καὶ Ῥαθίνης ἤκου παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύ-  
ναμιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατείδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ πολέμοι,  
ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων.  
ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀρηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ  
9 σφάγια. ἔνθα δὴ Ξενοφὼν λέγει, Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες  
στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας,  
ἵνα, ἂν που δέη, ὧσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι  
καὶ οἱ πολέμοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τετα-  
10 γμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους. συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. Ὅτι μὲν  
τοῖνυν, ἔφη, προηγεῖσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους,  
ὥς μὴ ἐστήκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὥφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς  
πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξω τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους κατα-  
11 χωρίσας ἥπερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ. ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἤσυχον  
προήγον, ὁ δὲ τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις ἀνὰ  
διακοσίους ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν  
ἐφέπεσθαι ἀπολιπόντας ὥς πλέθρον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιὸς  
ταύτης ἡρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν  
ἔπεσθαι· Πυρρίας Ἀρκὰς ταύτης ἡρχε· τὴν δὲ μίαν  
ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτη ἐφείσθη  
12 κει. προϊόντες δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ  
νάπαι μεγάλῃ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν ἀγνοοῦντες, εἰ  
διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος. καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγοὺς  
13 καὶ λοχαγοὺς παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον. καὶ ὁ Ξενο-  
φὼν θαυμάσας, ὃ, τι τὸ ἴσχον εἴη τὴν πορείαν, καὶ  
ταχὺ ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγυὴν ἐλαύνει ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχι-  
στα. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος πρεσβύ-  
τατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη,

ἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὃν τὸ νάπος. καὶ ὁ Ξενο- 14  
 ῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν, Ἄλλ' ἵστε μὲν με, ὦ  
 ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐθελού-  
 ῖον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὀρώ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρείο-  
 ῖα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεῖ μὲν 15  
 νθένδε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν· ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν  
 πρὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν, ὁπόταν ἀπίωμεν, ἔφον-  
 αι καὶ ἐπιπεσοῦνται. ὁρᾶτε δὴ, πότερον κρεῖττον 16  
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας προβαλλομένους τὰ ὄπλα ἢ  
 εταβαλλομένους ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολε-  
 ῖους θεᾶσθαι. ἵστε γε μέντοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι 17  
 πρὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ  
 ἰς κακίῃσι θάρρος ἐμποιεῖ. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν  
 ἰσέσιν ἐποίμην ἢ σὺν διπλάσιοις ἀποχωροίην. καὶ  
 οὗτους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπί-  
 τε αὐτοὺς δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀπιόντων δὲ πάντες ἐπι-  
 ᾶμεθα, ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι. τὸ δὲ διαβάντας 18  
 ἰσθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι μέλλοντας μάχε-  
 σθαι ἂρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀρπάσαι ἄξιον; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολε-  
 οῖς ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν εὖπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι ὥστε  
 ὀχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκε-  
 αι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία. θανμάζω δ' 19  
 ὅγε καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἴ τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν  
 ἰλίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διαπεπορεύμεθα χωρίων.  
 ε μὲν γὰρ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ νικήσομεν τοὺς  
 γέας; πῶς δὲ ἂ διεληλύθαμεν ὄρη, ἣν πελτασταὶ  
 τοῖδε ἐφέπωνται; ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατ- 20  
 ῃ, πρόσσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι  
 ἀπάξοντα οὔτε σῖτος, ὃ θρεψόμεθα μένοντες, δέησει  
 ἦν θᾶττον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, θᾶττον πάλιν ἐξιέναι  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡριστηκότητας 21  
 ἰεσθαι ἢ αὐριον ἀναρίστους. ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ  
 ν καλὰ οἷ τε οἰωνοὶ αἰσιοὶ τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα·  
 εν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς



πάντως εἶδον, ἡδέως δειπνήσαι οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν θέλωσι σκηπήσαι.

- 22 Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγε. καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγείλας διαβαίνειν ἢ ἕκαστος ἐτύγγανε τοῦ νάπους ὦν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἄθρόον ἐδόκει ἂν οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπει ἦν, ἔξεμηνύοντα.
- 23 Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριὼν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔλεγε, Ἄνδρες, ἀναμνησθεσθε ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμοσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολέμους φεύγοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσατε, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς
- 24 θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. ἀλλ' ἔπεσθε ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομαστί. ἡδὺ τοι ἀνδρείον τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα
- 25 μνήμην ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ. ταῦτα παραλύνων ἔλεγε καὶ ἅμα ὑψηγείτο ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους. παρηγγέλλετο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς προσβολὴν καθέντας ἔπεσθαι βάδην καὶ μηδένα δρόμῳ διώκειν. ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρήξει Ζεὺς σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών. οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὑπέ-
- 26 μενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἀντίοι ὤρμησαν, οἳ δ' ἵππεῖς καὶ τὸ στίφος τῶν Βιθυ-
- 27 νῶν· καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πελταστὰς. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐπαιώνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡλάλαζον καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα καθίσταν, ἐνταῦθα
- 28 οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμοι, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον. καὶ Τιμασίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐφείπετο, καὶ ἀπεκτιννυσαν δσοῦσπερ ἐδύναντο ὡς ὀλίγοι δντες. τῶν δὲ πολέμιων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ' ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνες

ἵππεῖς ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, ἅτε οὐ σφόδρα διωκόμενον, ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπο-29 μένοντας αὐτούς, ἐδόκει ῥᾶστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτούς. παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελ- τασταὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐ διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δὲ ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἵππικὸν φόβον παρείχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολὺ ὄν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τό τε 30 Φαρναβάζου ἵππικὸν ἔτι συνεστηκὸς καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἱππέας πρὸς τοῦτο συναθροιζομένους καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθεωμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὁμῶς δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἰτέον εἶναι οὕτως ὅπως δύναιτο, ὥς μὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἀναπαύσαιντο. συντα-31 ξάμενοι δὴ πορεύονται. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἵππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διωκόμενοι· νάπος γὰρ αὐτούς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώκοντες· ὁφρὲ γὰρ ἦν. ἐπανελθόντες δὲ ἔνθα ἡ πρώτη συμβολή 32 ἐγένετο στησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἀπήεσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς· στάδιοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν 6 καὶ ἀπήγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποι ἐδύναντο προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὡς ἤξοντα, ἐξιόντες δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπύδοις ἐφέροντο ἀδεῶς πυρούς, κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελλίνας, σῦκα· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα πλὴν ἐλαίου. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένον τὸ 2 στράτευμα ἀναπανόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λεῖαν ἰέναι, καὶ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίλοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἤδη δὲ ἦν πολλὴ πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγο- 3 ραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνουῖντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων

- καὶ οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατήγοντο, ἀκούοντες ὅς  
 4 οἰκίζοντο πόλιν καὶ λιμὴν εἴη. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέ-  
 μιοι ἤδη, οἱ πλησίον ᾤκουν, πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούον-  
 τες, ὅτι οὗτος πολλῶν τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες, ὅ, τι δὲ  
 ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτοῖς τοῖς  
 5 στρατιώταις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται διὰ  
 τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον δ' οὐδέν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα ἔξω ὃν ὅτε ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι  
 ἄλλοι ἄλλη εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ εἰλήφεσαν πρόβατα πολ-  
 λά· ὁκνοῦντες δέ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν, τῷ Δεξιππῷ λέγου-  
 σιν, ὅς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ Τραπε-  
 ζούντος, καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόβατα  
 6 τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι. εἰδὼς  
 δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιστώτας τῶν στρατιω-  
 τῶν καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι δημόσια εἴη, καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ  
 ἔλθων λέγει, ὅτι ἀρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ κελεῖναι  
 7 τὸν ἀρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν  
 ἡγέτινα· περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δεξιππῶν,  
 ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην. ἔδεισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριη-  
 τῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κλέαν-  
 8 δρος δ' ἔφευγε. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ  
 κατεκώλυον τε καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη  
 πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα αἴτιον εἴη τὸ τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 9 ματος ταῦτα γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Δεξιππου τε ἀνереθιζόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀχθεσθεὶς, ὅτι  
 ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔφη καὶ κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν  
 πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὡς πολεμίους. ἤρχον δὲ τότε  
 10 πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐνταῦθα  
 ποιηρὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ  
 ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη  
 γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ  
 11 τὸν ἀφελόμενον. ἦν δὲ ὃν ἐξήτει Ἀγασίας, διὰ τέλους

φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὁ  
 Δέξιππος. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγα-  
 γον τὸ στράτευμα οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν  
 παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Κλέανδρον, τῷ δὲ Ξενο-  
 φῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀνα-  
 στας ἔλεξεν, Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐ φαῦλον 12  
 δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην  
 Κλέανδρος ἄπεισιν, ὥσπερ λέγει. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη  
 ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν· ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅ, τι βούλονται δια-  
 πράττεσθαι. εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαν- 13  
 τίου ἀποκλείσει, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρμοσταῖς  
 παραγγελεῖ εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι ὡς ἀπιστοῦν-  
 τας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς  
 Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν  
 ἦξει, χαλεπὸν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ  
 τὸν νῦν χρόνον. οὐκ οὐκ οὐτε ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα 14  
 οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ πειστέον ὅ, τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις  
 ἡμῶν ὅθεν ἐσμὲν πείθονται αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, καὶ 15  
 γὰρ ἀκούω Δέξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλέανδρον, ὡς οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευ-  
 σα, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας καὶ  
 Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ ἐμέ τι τούτων αἴ-  
 τιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἐμαντοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πετροβο-  
 λίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης  
 ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. φημὶ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα 16  
 ἄλλον αἰτιάται, χρήναι ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ  
 κρίναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας  
 εἴητε. ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν, εἰ, οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τού-  
 των οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρξόμεθα  
 ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.

- 17 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπεν Ἀγασίας, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς ἢ μὴν μήτε με Ξενοφῶντα κελεύσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε ἄλλον ὑμῶν μηδένα· ἰδόντι δέ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξίππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ.
- 18 καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδῶτέ με· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτὸν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχίσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ ὃ, τι ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μήτε πολεμεῖτε Λακεδαιμονίοις σώζοισθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς ὅποι θέλει ἕκαστος. συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι πρὸς Κλεάνδρον οὔτινες, ἂν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω, καὶ
- 19 λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν. ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιὰ οὐστinas βούλοιτο προελόμενον ἵεναι. ὁ δὲ προείλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Κλεάνδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ
- 20 ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου. καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί, Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σε, ὦ Κλέανδρε, καὶ ἐκέλευσέ σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιᾶ, κρίναντά σε αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι ὃ, τι ἂν βούλη, εἴτε ἓνα τινὰ ἢ δύο ἢ καὶ πλείους αἰτιᾶ, τούτους ἀξιούσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. εἴτε οὖν ἡμῶν τινὰ αἰτιᾶ, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴτε καὶ ἄλλον τινά, φράσον· οὐδεὶς γάρ σοι
- 21 ἀπέσται, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλῃ πείθεσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶπεν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφελόμενος Δεξίππου ἄγοντος τούτου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
- 22 παίειν κελεύσας Δεξίππου. τούτου μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, Δεξίππου δὲ οἶδα αἰρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πεντηκοντόρου ἥς ἡγησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐφ' ᾧτε πλοῖα συλλέγειν, ὡς σωζόμεθα, καὶ ἀποδράντα Δεξίππου καὶ προδόντα
- 23 τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη. καὶ τοὺς τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀπεστερήκαμεν τὴν πεντηκόντορον καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τούτου, αὐτοὶ τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ

ἄπολώλαμεν. ἤκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη περὶ ἀπίνοντας τοὺς ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ 24 μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀν τούτων ἐποίησα. νόμιζε δ', ἐὰν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνης, δι' ἄνδρα δειλὸν τε καὶ πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν, ὅτι Δέξιππος 25 μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίῃ, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκῶς εἶη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν οὐδ' εἰ παμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος βίαν χρήναι πᾶσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. νῦν μὲν οὖν 26 ἄπιτε καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιὰν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα ἔτι, ἐπεὶ γε οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρεθεὶς 27 εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ οἶμι με ἀδικούντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὔτε ἔπαιον οὐδένα οὔτε ἐβαλλον, ἀλλ' εἶπον, ὅτι δημόσια εἶη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ τις, ὅποτε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίοι, ἰδίᾳ ληΐζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. ταῦτα εἶπον· ἐκ τούτου 28 με λαβὼν οὗτος ἦγεν, ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδεὶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος διασώσσειε τοῖς λησταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν, Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοιοῦτος εἶ, κατὰμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων· τὴν 29 δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν καὶ συνεβούλευε πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαντας 30 στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδευοι εἶναι δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφείναι τὸν ἄνδρα.

- 31 ἔλθων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, "Ἐχεις μέν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἡ στρατιά σοι ὑφείτο, ὅ, τι ἐβούλου ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάντων· νῦν δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναί σοι σφισι τὸ ἄνδρε καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν
- 32 χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθησάτην. ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες ὑπισχνοῦνται σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἣν βούλη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεω ᾧσιν, ἐπιδείξω σοι καὶ ὡς κόσμιοί εἰσι καὶ ὡς ἱκανοὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι πε-  
θόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.
- 33 δέονται δέ σου καὶ τοῦτο, παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξίππου καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἄλλων οἷος ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστος νεύειν.
- 34 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος, "Ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὼ σιῶ, ἔφη, ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. καὶ τῷ τε ἄνδρε ὑμῖν δίδωμι καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ ἣν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσιν, ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὐδ' ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίσω ἤκουον, ὡς τὸ στράτευμα ἀφίστατε ἀπὸ Λακεδαι-  
μονίων.
- 35 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τὸ ἄνδρε· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ξυνήν Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς καὶ ξενίαν ξυνεβάλλοντα ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιοῦντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμῶν γενέσθαι
- 36 αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ μὲντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν, Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη τὰ ἱερά ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μὲντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκέισε ἤκητε, δεξόμεθα ὡς ἂν δυῶ-  
μεθα κάλλιστα.
- 37 Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἔπε-

δοῦκε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέπλει. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαθέ-  
μενοι τὸν σῖτον, ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι, καὶ τάλλα,  
ἀ εἰλήφεσαν, ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ 38  
οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥστε ἔχον-  
τές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν διεξελθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοῦμ-  
παλιν ὑποστρέψαντες ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα.  
τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ  
πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἑκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς  
Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυρο-  
πωλοῦντες.

## BOOK VII.

“Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου 1  
ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ  
Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι εἰς τὸν Πόντον  
ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου περὶ ἐξιόντες καὶ  
ἐκπλέοντες ἐποίουν μέχρι ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο  
ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδή- 2  
λωται. ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος φοβούμενος τὸ στρα-  
τευμα μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν στρατεύηται, πέμψας  
πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον, ὃ δ’ ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαν-  
τίῳ ὢν, ἐδεῖτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στρατευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας,  
καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιήσειν αὐτῷ, ὅσα δέοι. καὶ 3  
Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχα-  
γούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο,  
εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθοφορὰν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις.  
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν, 4  
Ξενοφάν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἡδὴ ἀπὸ τῆς  
στρατιᾶς καὶ βούλοιο ἀποπλεῖν. ὃ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος  
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάνα ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάτ-  
τεσθαι. ἔφη οὖν ταῦτα ποιήσειν.



- 5     Ξεύθης δὲ ὁ Θρᾷξ πέμπει Μηδοσάδην καὶ κελεύει  
 Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμείσθαι, ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα, καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμπροθυμηθέντι ὅτι οὐ  
 6 μεταμελήσει. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλα τὸ μὲν στράτευμα  
 διαβήσεται· τούτου ἕνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμὶ  
 μήτε ἄλλῃ μηδενί· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπα-  
 λάξομαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς διαμένοντας καὶ ἐπικαίριους  
 ὄντας προσφερέσθω ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἀσφαλές.
- 7     Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον  
 οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξί-  
 βιος, ἐκήρυξε δὲ λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοῖς  
 στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὡς ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀρι-  
 θμὸν ποιήσων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι  
 οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ  
 8 ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ  
 τῷ ἄρμοστῇ ξένος γεγενημένος προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο  
 αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποπλευσούμενος ἤδη. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει, Μὴ  
 ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔφη, αἰτίαν ἔξεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 νῦν τινὲς ἤδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ  
 9 στράτευμα. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' αἷτιος μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ  
 εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεό-  
 10 μενοι διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. Ἄλλ'  
 ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σοὶ σύμβουλεύω ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς πορε-  
 σόμενον, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ στράτευμα, τότε  
 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ταῦτα τοῖσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐλθόν-  
 11 τες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξώμεθα. οὕτως ἐλθόντες  
 ἔλεγον ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσεν οὕτω ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξιέναι  
 τὴν ταχίστην συνεσκευασμένους, καὶ προσανέπειν, ὅς  
 ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὅτι  
 12 αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξήσαν οἱ τε στρα-  
 τηγοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν  
 ὀλίγων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἑτεόνικος εἰστῆκε παρὰ τὰς  
 πύλας ὡς, ὅποτε ἔξω γένοιτο πάντες, συγκλείσων τὰς  
 13 πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλὼν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος

συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς ἔλεξε, Τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων κωμῶν· εἰς δὲ αὐτόθι πολλὰ κριθὰ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει. ἐπα- 14  
κούσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἡ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου, πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης. ἐν ᾧ δὲ 15  
ταῦτα διελέγοντο οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὡς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες. ὁ δὲ Ἑτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται 16  
ἔκοπτόν τε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πάσχουσιν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ κατασχίσαι τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. ἄλλοι δὲ ἔθεον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν 17  
τοῦ τεύχους ὑπερβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ ἐτύγγανον ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὁρῶσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόπτοντες ταῖς ἀξί-  
ναις τὰ κλείθρα ἀναπέταννύουσι τὰς πύλας, οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὡς εἶδε τὰ γινόμενα, δέσας, μὴ 18  
ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει καὶ συνεισπύπτει εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσπίπτουν, 19  
φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἰκαδε, ὅσοι δὲ ἔνδον ἐτύγγανον ὄντες ἔξω ἔθεον, οἱ δὲ καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σώζοντο, πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι ὡς ἑλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως. ὁ δὲ Ἑτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. ὁ δὲ 20

Ἀναξίβιος καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν ἀλιευτικῇ  
 πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μετα-  
 πέμπεται ἐκ Καλληγόνοιο φρουροῦς· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ  
 ἰδούκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας.  
 21 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, προσπί-  
 πτουσιν αὐτῷ πολλοὶ καὶ λέγουσι, Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ  
 Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις,  
 ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσοούτους. νῦν ἂν, εἰ  
 βούλοιο, σύ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγα ποιή-  
 22 σαιμεν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄλλ' εὐ τε λέγετε καὶ  
 ποιήσω ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, δέσθε τὰ  
 ὅπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα· βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρε-  
 23 μίσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἐκέλευε παρεγγυᾶν καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ  
 ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι οἳ τε ὀπλῖται ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ  
 εἰς ὀκτὼ ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἐκά-  
 24 τερον παραδεδραμήκεσαν. τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλη-  
 στον ἐκτάξασθαι ἔστι τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον  
 οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατη-  
 ρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ λέγει  
 25 τάδε. Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίζεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ  
 νομίζετε δεινὰ πάσχειν ἑξαπατῶμενοι οὐ θανατά·  
 ἦν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς  
 παρόντας τῆς ἑξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμεῖσθε ἃ ἔσται  
 26 ἐντεῦθεν. πολέμοιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἷος δ' ὁ πόλεμος ἂν  
 γένοιτο εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνη-  
 27 σθέντας τὰ νῦν δὴ γεγενημένα. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ  
 τοὺς συμμάχους ἔχοντες τριήρεις τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ  
 τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων,  
 ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ  
 προσόδου οὔσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ

ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων· ἄρχοντες  
 δὲ τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολλὰς  
 ἔχοντες πόλεις καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς  
 καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἐσμεν, ἔχοντες  
 κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως, ὥς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε.  
 νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἴομεθα παθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν καὶ 28  
 τῶν ἀρχαίων συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ  
 ὅσοι ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι πάντων προσγεγενη-  
 μένων, Τισσαφέρους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων  
 βαρβάρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιστά-  
 του δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρη-  
 σόμενοί τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα.  
 τούτων δὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων,  
 ὅστις οἶεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; μὴ πρὸς θεῶν 29  
 μαινόμεθα μηδ' αἰσχρῶς ἀπολώμεθα πολέμοι ὄντες  
 καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε  
 καὶ οἰκείοις. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσι πάντες ταῖς  
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσόμεναις, καὶ δικαίως, εἰ βάρβαρον  
 μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠβελήσαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα  
 κρατοῦντες, Ἑλληνίδα δὲ εἰς ἣν πρῶτην πόλιν ἤλθο-  
 μεν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι 30  
 πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε  
 κατὰ γῆς ὀργυιᾶς γενέσθαι. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμβουλεύω  
 Ἑλλήνας ὄντας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι πει-  
 θομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν. εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γούν  
 Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι. καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ πέμψαντας 31  
 Ἀναξίβιω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βλῖον ποιήσοντας  
 παρεληλύθαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν δυνώμεθα  
 παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ δη-  
 λώσοντας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπατῶμενοι ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι  
 ἐξερχόμεθα.

Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἡλείον 32  
 ἐροῦντα ταῦτα καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Φιλήσιον  
 Αἰαῖον. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ᾤχοντο ἐροῦντες.

- 23 Ἔτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσέρχεται  
 Κοιρατάδης Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα πε-  
 ριῇ, ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλλόμενος, εἰ τις ἢ  
 πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγοῦ δέοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν  
 ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα  
 καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λή-  
 ψοιντο· ἔστε δ' ἂν μολώσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξεν  
 34 ἔφη καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς στρα-  
 τιώταις καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξίβιου ἅμα ἀπαγγελλλόμενα·  
 ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὅτι πειθομένους αὐτοῖς οὐ μεταμελήσει,  
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα ἀπαγγελεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ  
 35 βουλευέσονται περὶ αὐτῶν ὃ, τι δύναιτο ἀγαθόν· ἐκ τού-  
 του οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κοιρατάδην δέχονται στρα-  
 τηγὸν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπήλθον. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδης  
 συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στράτευμα ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν καὶ σιτία καὶ  
 36 ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξήλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος  
 ἐκλείσει τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐκήρυξεν, ὅστις ἂν ἀλφ' ἔνδον  
 37 ὦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὅτι πεπράσεται. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ  
 ὁ Κοιρατάδης μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν ἦκε  
 καὶ ἄλφιτα φέροντες εἶποντο αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες καὶ  
 οἶνον ἄλλοι εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες καὶ ἐλαιῶν τρεῖς καὶ σκορό-  
 δων εἰς ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον φορτίον καὶ ἄλλος  
 κρομμύνων. ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμενος ὥς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν  
 38 ἐθύετο. Ξενοφῶν δὲ μεταπεμφάμενος Κλέανδρον ἐκέ-  
 λευε διαπρᾶξαι, ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχός τε εἰσελθῶν καὶ  
 39 ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ Βυζαντίου. ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Κλέανδρος,  
 Μάλα μόλις, ἔφη, διαπραξάμενος ἦκω· λέγειν γὰρ  
 Ἀναξίβιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτῆδειον εἶη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώ-  
 τας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον·  
 τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους· ὁμως δὲ εἰσιέναι, ἔφη, ἐκέλευεν, εἰ μέλλοις  
 40 σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπλεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν ἀσπασάμενος  
 τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰσω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆκε σὺν Κλέανδρῳ.

Δὲ Κοιρατάδης τῇ μὲν πρώτη ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει  
 οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ δ' ὕστε-  
 ραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰσθήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ Κοι-  
 ρατάδης ἐστεφανωμένος ὥς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ  
 Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ  
 Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἔλεγον Κοιρατάδῃ μὴ θύειν,  
 ὥς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτή-  
 δεια. ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν 41  
 ἐνέδει αὐτῷ ὥστε ἡμέρας σίτον ἐκάστῳ γενέσθαι τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπῆει καὶ τὴν στρα-  
 τηγίαν ἀπειπῶν.

Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ 2  
 Φιλῆσιος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Τιμα-  
 σίων ὁ Δαρδανεὺς ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς  
 κώμας τῶν Θρακῶν προελθόντες τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, 2  
 Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι  
 ἄγειν· ἐπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον,  
 τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα· Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἴομενος, εἰ  
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιτο, παντὸς ἂν προεστάναι  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίων δὲ προϋθυμεῖτο πέραν  
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἴομενος ἂν οἴκαδε  
 κατελθεῖν. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτ' ἐβούλοντο. δια- 3  
 τριβομένοι δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ  
 μὲν τὰ ὄπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους ἀπέπλεον  
 ὥς ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ [διδόντες τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς  
 χώρους] εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμυγνύοντο. Ἀναξίβιος δ' 4  
 ἔχαιρε ταῦτα ἀκούων, διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα·  
 τούτων γὰρ γυγνομένων ᾤετο μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι  
 Φαρναβάζῳ.

Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβιῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ 5  
 Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ Βυζαντίου  
 ἀρμοστής· ἐλέγετο δέ, ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος  
 Πῶλος ὅσον οὐ παρέη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. καὶ 6

- Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει ὅπως  
 ἂν εἶροι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολειμμένους ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνδρος οὐδένα ἐπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευεν οἰκτεῖραν καὶ ἀναγκάζων οἰκία δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο.
- 7 Ἀναξίβιος δὲ παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον πέμπει παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἤκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἁρμοστήν καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξιβίου μὲν ἡμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεπράττετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρείου στρατεύματος, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.
- 8 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα κελεύει πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὥς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν τε αὐτὸ καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὥς ἂν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἄνδρα συμπέμπει κελύσσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὥς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα προ-
- 9 πέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἡδέως καὶ εὐθὺς ἐποιτο ἄσμενοι ὥς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
- 10 Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἀκούσας ἤκοντα πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ, ὅ, τι ᾤετο λέγων πείσειν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶόν ᾤετο.
- 11 τε εἷη τούτων γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὄχλητο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς ἔχων ὥς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Περινθίαν ἦν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, 12  
 ἵπῳς ὅτι τάχιστα διαβαίνειν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος  
 Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριή-  
 ρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις  
 ἀπέειπε μὴ διώγειν ἐλθόν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοῖς  
 στρατιώταις εἶπε μὴ περαιούσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ὁ δὲ 13  
 Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς  
 τοῦτο ἔπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν,  
 Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε  
 ἁρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ,  
 καταδύσω. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὄχχeto εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. τῇ δ' 14  
 ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχα-  
 γοὺς τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἤδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει  
 ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι, εἰ εἴσεισι, συλλη-  
 φθήσεται καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ τι πέλλεται ἢ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ  
 παραδοθήσεται. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν προ-  
 πέμπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι θῦσαί τι βούλοιοτο. καὶ 15  
 ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο, εἰ παρείεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειραῖσθαι  
 πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. ἑώρα γὰρ οὔτε δια-  
 βαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς ὃν τριήρεις ἔχοντας τοῦ κωλύσοντος,  
 οὔτ' ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο  
 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γεγέσθαι,  
 ἔνθα πείθεσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκεῖ ἁρμοστῇ, τῶν δὲ  
 ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ 16  
 λοχαγοὶ ἦκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἀπήγγελλον,  
 ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπικέαι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δέλης δὲ ἤκειν·  
 ἔνθα καὶ δῆλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει ἢ ἐπιβουλή. ὁ οὖν 17  
 Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ  
 στρατεύματι ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἵεναι, παραλαβὼν  
 Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λοχαγὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν  
 στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου ἄνδρα, πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος, φ  
 ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν, ὄχχeto τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου  
 στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στάδια. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, 18



- ἐπιτυγχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ Δορύβου τι ᾔσθετο καὶ σημαίνοντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἴη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες μήτε ὁπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἴεν, οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς
- 19 καταφανεῖς εἴεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα, ὃν ἐτύγγαεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ ἤρουντο, εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος.
- 20 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρήσαν πελτασταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἦγον
- 21 πρὸς Σεύθην. ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι. διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλου τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ
- 22 νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο. ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης ὁ τούτου πρόγονος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.
- 23 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα ἔχοντα δύο, οὓς βούλοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προῦπινον· παρὴν δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅσπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάν
- 24 τοσε. ἔπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν, Ἐπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Καλχηδῶνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τοιουσί, δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσεις, ὥς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης αὐ
- 25 τος. ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἀληθῆ

αὐτ' εἶπ. ὁ δ' ἔφη. Αὐθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος, ἐπεὶ γὼ διέβην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπὸ χνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς σέ, τὰλλὰ τέ γε φίλω μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἰοι χωρία, ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς, ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ. ἐπὶ 26 τούτοις πάλιν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. Ἴθι νυν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ, τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Καλχηδόνι πρῶτον. Ἄπε- 27 κρύνω, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἕνεκα δέοι τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ· αὐτὸς δέ, ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως ὥσπερ σὺ ἔλεγες. Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ 28 Σηλυβρίαν ἀφίκου; Οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰς Πέρινον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Νῦν 29 τοῖνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος εἰς τῶν λοχαγῶν, καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστῳ πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκεῖ 30 νους κάλεσαι. τὰ δὲ ὅπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὦ Πολυκράτες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἴσιθι.

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπι- 31 στήσειεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι καὶ φίλους εὖνους ἔφη νομίζειν. μετὰ ταῦτα δ', ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο Σεύθην, ὅ, τι δέοιτο χρήσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε. 32 Μαισάδης ἦν πατήρ μοι, ἐκείνου δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδίται καὶ Θυνοὶ καὶ Τρανίφαι. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν πράγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει νόσῳ, ἐγὼ δ' ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ζῆν εἰς ἄλλο- 33 τριαν τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθεζόμην ἐνδὶ φίριος

αὐτῷ ἰκέτης δοῦναί μοι ὅπόσους δυνατὸς εἴη ἄνθρωπος,  
ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς εἴ τι δυναμένη καὶ  
ποιοῖην καὶ ζῶην μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀποβλέ-  
34 πων ὥσπερ κύων. ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας  
καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε, ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα  
γένηται. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, ληϊζόμενος  
τὴν ἐμαντοῦ πατρὸς χώραν. εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παρα-  
γένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥαδίως ἀπολαβῶ  
τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.

35 Τί ἂν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθομαι,  
τῇ τε στρατιᾷ δίδοναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρα-  
36 τηγοῖς; λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλλωσιν. ὁ δ' ὑπέ-  
σχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ  
διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν, καὶ τῇ  
ὀπόσῃ ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ζεύγη καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θα-  
37 λάττῃ τετελιχισμένον. Ἐὰν δέ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα  
πειρώμενοι μὴ διαπράξωμεν, ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ἀπὸ  
Λακεδαιμονίων ᾗ, δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ, ἕαν τις ἀπίσκει  
38 βούληται παρὰ σέ; ὁ δ' εἶπε, Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιή-  
σομαι καὶ ἐνδιφρίους καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἀπάντων ὧν ἐν  
δυνάμεθα κτᾶσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα  
δώσω καί, εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ, ὠνήσομαι Θρακίῃ  
νόμφῃ, καὶ Βισάνθην οἰκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλη-  
στον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.

3 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες  
ἀπήλαινον· καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ στρατο-  
2 πέδῳ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμψασιν. ἐπεὶ  
δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλεε τοὺς  
στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς· τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς  
Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν εἶσαι, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι  
καὶ συνήλθον πάντες πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπὸ  
3 χον ὡς δέκα στάδια. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενο-  
φῶν εἶπε τάδε. Ἄνδρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν ἐνθα βουλόμεθα  
Ἀρίσταρχος τριήρεις ἔχων κωλύει, ὥστε εἰς πλοῖα

οὐκ ἀσφαλές ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς κελεύει εἰς  
 Ξερρόνησον βία διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἦν  
 δὲ κρατήσαντες τούτου ἐκείσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν  
 ἔτι ὑμᾶς φησιν ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἐξαπατήσε-  
 τhai ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθόν, οὔτε περιόψε-  
 τhai ἔτι ὥσπερ νυνὶ δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. οὗτος 4  
 μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνουν  
 ἦτε, εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε, πότερον  
 ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλευέσεσθε ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 ἐπανελθόντες. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε 5  
 ἀργύριον ἔχομεν ὥστε ἀγοράζειν οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου  
 ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς  
 κώμας, ὅθεν οἱ ἥττους ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀκούοντας, ὃ, τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται, αἰρεῖ-  
 σθαι, ὃ, τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι. καὶ ὅτῳ, 6  
 ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἀνέτειναν ἅπαν-  
 τες. Ἀπιάοντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὰν  
 παραγγέλλῃ τις, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγείτο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο. 7  
 Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέ-  
 πεσθαι· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσον τριάκοντα  
 σταδίους προελήλυθεσαν, ἅπαντ' Ἀρτιάδης. καὶ ὁ Ξενο-  
 φῶν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλεί-  
 στων ἀκούοντων εἴποι αὐτῷ ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. ἐπεὶ 8  
 δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, Ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα ὅπου  
 μέλλει ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούοντες  
 καὶ σοὺ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ αἰρησόμεθα ἃ ἂν κρά-  
 τιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ ὅπου πλείστα  
 ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομιοῦμεν ἐξενίσθαι. καὶ ὁ 9  
 Σεύθης ἔφη, Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας καὶ  
 πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον  
 διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀριστώγητε. Ἠγοῦ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ  
 Ξενοφῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δείλης, 10  
 συνηλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιάδε.

- Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί, καὶ ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν δώσειν τοῖς στρατιώταις κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω. σῖτα δὲ καὶ ποτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔξετε· ὅποσα δ' ἂν ἀλίσκηται ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθῇ
- 11 μενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω. καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἂν δέ τις ἀνθιστήται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.
- 12 ἐπήρετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στρατεύμα; ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Οὐδαμῇ πλείον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, μείων δὲ πολλαχῇ.
- 13 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδδοτο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγει Σεύθης· χειμῶν γὰρ εἴη καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποσπλεῖν τῷ τούτῳ βουλομένῳ δυνατὸν εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἷόν τ' εἴη, εἰ δέοι ὠνουμένους ζῆν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολέμῳ διατρίβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου ἢ μόνους ὄντων ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων· εἰ δὲ μισθὸν
- 14 προσλήψωιντο, εὖρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπιψηφίζετω ταῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα. εὐθὺς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπε ταῦτα, ὅτι συστρατεύσονται αὐτῷ.
- 15 Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν, στρατηγοὺς δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκά-
- 16 λεσε, πλησίον κώμην ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνεΐτης· οὗτος προσιὼν ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ οὔστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἳ παρήσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω εἴη δώδεκα

μερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν, Σεύθης δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ στρα-  
 ευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.  
 ρεῖτων οὖν ὧν ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς 17  
 τοιεῖν. ἦν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τούτῳ δώσετε ὃ, τι ἄγετε·  
 αὐτὰ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται ἢ ἐὰν Μηδόκῳ τῷ πρόσῳ  
 οἰκοῦντι δώτε. τούτους μὲν οὕτως ἐπειθεν. αὐθις δὲ 18  
 Γίμασῶνι τῷ Δαρδανεὶ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτῷ  
 εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικός, ἔλεγεν,  
 ὅτι νομίζοιτο, ὅποτε ἐπὶ δείπνον καλέσαι Σεύθης, δω-  
 ρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέντας. οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας  
 ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε καὶ οἵκαδε καταγαγεῖν  
 καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι. τοιαῦτα προὔμνῳτο  
 ἑκάστῳ προσών. προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλεγε, 19  
 Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἰ καὶ παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν  
 ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἴσως ἀξιώ-  
 σεις καὶ τείχῃ λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέ-  
 ρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλο-  
 πρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. εὐνους δέ σοι ὧν 20  
 παραινῶ· εὖ οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν μείζω τούτῳ δω-  
 ρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μείζω ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ. ἀκούων  
 ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἠπόρει· οὐ γὰρ διαβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ  
 Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ ὅσον ἐφόδιον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον τῶν τε Θρακῶν 21  
 οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν παρόντων καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ  
 λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεῖα παρῆν ἀπὸ  
 πόλεως, τὸ δείπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένοις κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα  
 δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν  
 μεστοὶ νενεμημένων, καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῖται μεγάλοι προσ-  
 πεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. μάλιστα δ' 22  
 αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ  
 ἦν. καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύθης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς  
 ἑαυτῷ παρακειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ  
 διερρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ τὰ κρέα ὡσαύτως, ὅσον  
 μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπών. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ 23

- κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐποιοῦν, καθ' οὗς αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειτο· Ἀρκὰς δὲ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἰς χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα οὕτω τριχόλυκον ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα 24 ἰδεῖσκει. κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἔδον· ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦκεν, εἶπεν ἰδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκ ἐμπνέοντα, Ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐν 25 δὲ οὐδέπω. ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν φωνὴν ἡρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον, τί λέγοι. ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν· ἑλληρίζων γὰρ ἦπρίστατο. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.
- 26 Ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔχῳρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀπὸ θύρας ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε, Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωρεῖμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων δυνάμει θύλης αἰρήσεις καὶ ἀπο 27 χωρῶν οὐ μὴ δέσης τὸν πολέμιον. ἄλλος παῖς εἰσαγαγὼν οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. καὶ Τιμασίῳ προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ τάπιδά Ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν.
- 28 Γνήσιππος δὲ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, ὅτι ἄρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὴν βασιλέα, ἵνα καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἔχω σοι δωρεῖσθαι καὶ 29 τιμᾶν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν ἠπορέετο, ὅ, τι ποιήσει· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὡς τιμώμενος ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ δίφῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἰνοχόον. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφὼν, ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκώς ἐτύγχανεν, ἀνέστη θαραλέως δεξιόμενος 30 τὸ κέρας καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς τούτους ἐταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστούς, καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἐστὶ 31 ἐμοῦ σοι βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι. καὶ νῦν πάρεσθαι οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προϊέμενοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ' ὧν,

ὃν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ πατρῶαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας κατακτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ ληΐζεσθαι δεήσει, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φέροντες παρέσονται πρὸς τε δῶρα. ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης συνεξέπια καὶ κατεσκε- 32 δάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἷοις σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγγιν ὠμοβοτῆναις ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν καὶ 33 ἐξήλατο ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος μάλα ἐλαφρῶς. εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.

Ἦς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλ- 34 ληνες καὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι καὶ σύνθημα παραδιδόναι. καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι, ὅπως εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρακῶν εἴσεισι νυκτός· οἳ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θραῖκες ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φίλοι. ὥς δ' ἐξήσαν, συνανέστη ὁ 35 Σεύθης οὐδέν τι μεθύνοντι ἑοικώς. ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκαλέσας, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασί πω τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστα ἂν λάβοιμεν καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα. συνεπῆρουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον. 36 ὁ δ' εἶπε, Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμενεῖτε· ἐγὼ δέ, ὁπόταν καιρὸς ᾖ, ἥξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ ὁ 37 Ξενοφῶν εἶπε, Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἡγεῖται τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁποῖον ἂν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρῃ, ἐάν τε ὀπλιτικὸν ἐάν τε πελταστικὸν ἐάν τε ἵππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἡγείσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ βραδύτατον· οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ 38



ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις  
 39 καὶ ὠγνοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν. εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης, Ὁρθῶς τε λέγετε καὶ ἐγὼ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέη, παρέσομαι. σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀναπαύοντο.

40 Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, παρῆν Σεύθης ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τοὺς πελταστάς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἵποντο,  
 41 οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος ἀποσπασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δ', ὥσπερ δεῖ, ἀθροοὶ πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός  
 42 τι ἤξω. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδὸν τινα λαβών. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκέψατο, εἰ εἴη ἵχνη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα ἢ ἐναντία.  
 43 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῇ ἑώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ ἔλεγεν, "Ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται, ἦν θεὸς θέλη· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις, ὅπως, ἂν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγῶν σημήνη τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῇτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἔπεσθε. ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἤξομεν εἰς κώμας πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας.

44 Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας ἤκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς

ὀπλίτας καὶ ἔλεγεν, Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταβεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. ἀλλ' ἐπεσθε ὥς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως, ἑάν τις ὑφιστῇται, ἀλέξῃσθε. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν<sup>45</sup> κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὃς ἤρετο, Τί καταβαίνεις, ἐπεὶ σπεύδειν δεῖ; Οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέη· οἱ δ' ὀπλῖται θάττον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἥδιον, ἑὰν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι. μετὰ ταῦτα ὄχητο, καὶ Τιμασίῳ<sup>46</sup> μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππεῖς ὥς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παρῖεναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαζε τούτους ἔχων, Κλεάνωρ δ' ἡγείτο τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἦσαν, Σεύθης ἔχων ὅσον<sup>47</sup> τριάκοντα ἱππέας προσελάσας εἶπε, Τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρημοι οἱ ἱππεῖς οἴχονται μοι ἄλλος ἄλλη διώκων· καὶ δέδοικα μὴ συστάντες ἄθροοι που κακόν τι ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γάρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων. Ἀλλ'<sup>48</sup> ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνωρα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὥς χίλια, βόες δὲ δισχίλιοι, πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἡλίσθησαν.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας<sup>4</sup> παντελῶς καὶ οἰκίαν οὐδεμίαν λιπών, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθείη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπῆει πάλιν. καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθε-<sup>2</sup> σθαι Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. οἱ δ' ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη. ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλή καὶ ψῦχος<sup>3</sup> οὕτως, ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐπήγγυτο

- καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 4 πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὤτα. καὶ τότε ὄηλον  
 ἐγένετο, οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θρᾶκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον  
 περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζα-  
 ρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 5 χλαμύδας. ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς  
 τὰ ὄρη ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται οἰκίσοντες καὶ  
 πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κόμας καὶ  
 τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. ἐκ τούτου κατέ-  
 βαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι·  
 οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κόμαις ἠύλινοντα.  
 6 καὶ ὁ Σεύθης καταμαθὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν  
 ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπιπύεσθαι. καὶ  
 ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν εἰς  
 τὰς κόμας. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον· πλησίον  
 γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε κατηκύντισεν ἀφειδὸς  
 Σεύθης.
- 7 Ἐπισθένης δ' ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος παιδεραστής, ὃς  
 ἰδὼν παῖδα καλὸν ἡβάσκοντα ἄρτι πέλτην ἔχοντα  
 μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν, προσδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἰκέ-  
 8 τευσε βοηθῆσαι παιδί καλῷ. καὶ ὃς προσελθὼν τῷ  
 Σεύθῃ δέεται μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπι-  
 σθένους διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ  
 συνελέξατο σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ εἰ τινες εἰεν καλοί,  
 9 καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο,  
 Ἥ καὶ θέλοις ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενης, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθα-  
 νεῖν; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ἀνατείνας τὸν τράχηλον, Παῖε, ἔφη,  
 10 εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι. ἐπῆρετο  
 ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα, εἰ παῖσειεν αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου.  
 οὐκ εἶα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἰκέτευε μηδὲ ἕτερον κατακαίνειν.  
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἐπισθένης περιλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα εἶπεν,  
 Ὡρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, περὶ τοῦδέ μοι διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ  
 11 γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν ταῦτα

μὲν εἶα· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ αὐλισθῆναι, ἵνα μὴδ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοντο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑποκαταβὰς ἐσκήνου, ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτῳ κώμῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὀρείοις καλουμένοις Θραξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.

Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι τ' οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο, καὶ οἱ 12 ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θράκες καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ὁμήρων διεπράττοντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι ἐν πονηροῖς τόποις σκηνοῦν καὶ πλησίον εἶεν οἱ πολέμοι· ἥδιόν τ' ἂν ἔξω αὐλίζεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ 13 ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας αὐτῷ. ἐδέοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος καταβαίνοντές τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους συμπράξαι σφισι τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἡγγυᾶτο μὴδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτ' ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.

Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιού- 14 σαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκαὶ κύκλῳ περιεσταύρωντο μεγάλοις σταυροῖς τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου 15 τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσηκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν ὡς ἀποκόνφοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν κατακαυθῆσεσθαι αὐτόν. καὶ 16 ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες, καὶ Σίλανος Μακέστιος

- ἐτῶν ἤδη ὥς ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὧν σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι  
 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐν  
 17 τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. οἱ δὲ Θράκες φεύγουσι,  
 ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι  
 τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς  
 ἐλήφθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν  
 τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον διαμαρτόντες τῶν  
 18 ἐξόδων· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἔξω τῆς κόμης. τῶν  
 δὲ Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει τοὺς  
 παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ  
 φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἱερώνυμόν τε Εὐ-  
 δέα λοχαγὸν καὶ Θεογένην Λοκρὸν λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε  
 δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς τινων καὶ σκεῆ.  
 19 Σεύθης δὲ ἤκε βοηθήσων σὺν ἑπτὰ ἱππεύσι τοῖς πρῶ-  
 τοις καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θράκιον. καὶ ἐπέ-  
 περ ἦσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσούτου καὶ  
 τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον  
 συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἔδει-  
 οὔτό τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οἴοιτο τεθνεώτας πολλοὺς ἐν-  
 ῆρσειν.  
 20 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῷ  
 παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται, συστρατεῖν-  
 21 σθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν εἰᾶσαι. τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παρα-  
 δίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας  
 ἤδη, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρεινῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἔρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνάμει. ἤδη δὲ εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν  
 δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἀκούοντες, ἃ  
 πρᾶττοι ὁ Σεύθης, πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμε-  
 22 νοι. οἱ δὲ Θυνοί, ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς  
 μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱπτεῖς,  
 καταβάντες ἰκέτευον σπείσασθαι, καὶ πάντα ὠμολόγησαν  
 23 ποιήσειν καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ  
 Σεύθης καλέσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεδείκνυνεν ἃ λέγειεν,  
 καὶ οὐκ ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρῆ

σασθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε 24  
 ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οὗτοι δούλοι ἔσονται  
 αὐτ' ἐλευθέρων. συμβουλευεῖν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους κακὸν  
 τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἔαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη  
 πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.

Ῥπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷ- 5  
 κας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ  
 Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου [, ἀρχαίου τι-  
 νός]. καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς 2  
 λείας παρῆν. καὶ Σεύθης ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ  
 τρία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοεικὰ, καλέσας  
 Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευε λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα διανεῖμαι τοῖς  
 στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς. Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐμοὶ 3  
 μὲν τοίνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐθις λαβεῖν· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς  
 στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ, οἱ σὺν ἔμοι ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ λοχα-  
 γοῖς. καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἐν μὲν Τιμασίῳ ὁ 4  
 Δαρδανεύς, ἐν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἐν δὲ Φρυνί-  
 σκος ὁ Ἀχαιός· τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς  
 κατεμερίσθη. τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐξεληλυθότος  
 ἡδὴ τοῦ μηνὸς εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλεί-  
 δης ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐ πλείον ἐμπολήσαι. ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν 5  
 ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπομόσας, Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη,  
 οὐχ ὥς δεῖ κήδεσθαι Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκήδου, ἦκες ἂν  
 φέρων πλήρη τὸν μισθὸν καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ  
 ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ αὐτοῦ ἱμάτια.

Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε καὶ ἔδεισε, 6  
 μὴ ἐκ τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖν, καὶ ὅ,τι ἐδύνατο  
 ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς  
 Σεύθην. οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν, 7  
 ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸν μισθόν· Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ, ὅτι  
 ἐντόνως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπήτει τὸν μισθόν. καὶ τέως 8  
 μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμέμνητο ὥς, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλθῃ,  
 παραδώσει αὐτῷ Βισάνθη καὶ Γάνον καὶ Νέον

τείχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτῳ ἐμμένητο. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τούτο διεβεβλήκει, ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶη τείχη παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι.

- 9 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλευέτο, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς πρὸς Σεύθῃ λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον σφῆς ἀγῶγοιεν τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ἵτι-  
σχεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἑκπλεῶν παρέ-  
σεσθαι δυοῖν μηνῶν, καὶ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε.
- 10 καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖνυν οὐδ', ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι, στρατευσαίμην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος. καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ Κλεάνωρ συνε-  
11 μολόγουν τῷ Τιμασίῳ. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Σεύθης ἐλοιδόρει τὸν Ἡρακλείδην, ὅτι οὐ παρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μόνον. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν, ὅτι βούλοιο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγούς πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς.
- 12 καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Με-  
λινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρακῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλὰ ἰκέ-  
λουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάν-  
13 πολυ τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ οἱ Θράκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας ὀρισάμενοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπί-  
πτοντα ἕκαστοι ληίζονται· τέως δὲ ἔλεγον, πρὶν ὀρί-  
σασθαι, ἀρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθή-  
14 σκειν. ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκοντο πολλὰ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμένα, καὶ τᾶλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγονσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῆσαν πάλιν.
- 15 ἔνθα δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στρατεύμα ἤδη πλεόν τοῦ Ἑλλή-

νικου· ἐκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους καταβ-  
βήκεσαν καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πειθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. κα-  
τηυλίσθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυβρίας ὅσον  
τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ 16  
μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς πω ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ξενο-  
φῶντα οἱ τε στρατιῶται παγχαλέπως εἶχον ὃ τε Σεύ-  
θης οὐκέτι οἰκείως διέκειτο, ἀλλ' ὅποτε συγγενέσθαι  
αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλαὶ ἤδη ἀσχολῖαι ἐφαί-  
νοντο.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων 6  
ἀφικνεῖται Χαρμῖνός τε ὁ Δάκων καὶ Πολύνικος παρὰ  
Θίβρωνος, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρα-  
τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρην, καὶ Θίβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν  
ὥς πολεμήσων, καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ  
λέγει, ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἐκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός,  
καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοῖρία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς τετρα-  
μοῖρία. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρα- 2  
κλείδης πυθόμενος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἦκουσι, λέγει  
τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι κάλλιστον γεγένηται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι δέονται τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέη·  
ἀποδιδούς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα χαριεῖ αὐτοῖς, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι  
ἀπαιτήσουσι τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῆς  
χώρας. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κελεύει παράγειν· 3  
καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἦκουσιν, ἔλεγεν,  
ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος  
εἶναι βούλεται. καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια· καὶ ἐξέ-  
νιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐκ ἐκάλει, οὐδὲ 4  
τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν  
Λακεδαιμονίων, τίς ἀνὴρ εἶη Ξενοφών, ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι  
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶη οὐ κακός, φίλοστρατιωτῆς δέ· καὶ  
διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ εἶπον, Ἄλλ' ἢ  
δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἄνδρας; καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης,  
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν 5  
ἐναντιώσεται τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς; Ἄλλ' ἦν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ



- Ἡρακλείδης, συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑποσχῆσθε τὸν μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσχόντες ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν. Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν; Αὖριος ὑμᾶς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῶι ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· καὶ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται. αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἔληξε.
- 7 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατιά. τῷ δὲ Λάκωνι ἐλεγέτην, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολεμεῖν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἵπτε σὺν ἡμῖν, τὸν τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἶσει τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν, λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν, στρατηγὸς δὲ τὸ τετραπλοῦν. καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῦ Ξενοφώντος κατηγορήσων. παρήρ δὲ καὶ Σεύθης, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, τίπραχθήσεται, καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἰστήκει ἔχων ἑρμηνέα· ξυνίει δὲ καὶ 9 αὐτὸς ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλείστα. ἔνθα δὲ λέγει ὁ Ἀρκάς, Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πάλαι ἂν ἦμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφὼν ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πείσας ἀπήγαγεν, ἔνθα δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρατεύμενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἐκείνον μὲν 10 ἰδίᾳ πεπλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν· ὥστε ὃ γε πρῶτος λέγων ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα καὶ δόντα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπονημένοις ἄχθεσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ξενοφὼν ἔλεξεν ὥδε.
- 11 Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἄνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾷ δεῖ, ὅποτε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω ἐν ᾧ πλείστην προθυμίαν ἑμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσχημένος. ἀπετραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη οἰκαδε ὠρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὔτοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς

οὐκ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι,  
 ὡς ὠφελήσων, εἴ τι δυναίμην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον, Σεύθου 12  
 τοῦτου πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος καὶ  
 πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ πείσασιν ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐ-  
 τὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα ποιεῖν, ὥς αὐτοὶ  
 μείς ἐπίστασθε, ἦγον δὲ ὅθεν φόβηται τάχιστα ἂν ὑμᾶς  
 ἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῇ. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ βέλτιστα  
 νόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς ἤδειν βουλομένους. ἐπεὶ 13  
 ὁ Ἀριστάρχος ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν ἐκώλυε διαπλεῖν  
 ὑμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς,  
 ὥς βουλευσαίμεθα, ὅ, τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς 14  
 οὐκ οὔτε μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερ-  
 ρησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου πείθοντος  
 ὑπὸ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν Σεύθη  
 καὶ, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα. τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐν-  
 ῥῆμα ἠδίκησα ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἔνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει ;  
 εἰ γὰρ μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μὴ 15  
 οὐ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινώ αὐτόν, δικαίως ἂν με καὶ αἰτιῶσθε  
 ἡ μισοῦτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φί-  
 ῶν νῦν πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι  
 αἰῶς ὑμᾶς αἰρούμενος ἀντὶ Σεύθου ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν  
 ἔμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι ; ἀλλ' εἴποντε 16  
 ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου  
 γράζειν. οὐκοῦν δῆλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ  
 δοκεῖ τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δήπου, ὥς ὧν τε  
 ἐν δόλῳ στέροιτο καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτίσειεν, ἀλλ' οἷ-  
 ος εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδου, ὅπως ἐμοὶ δούς  
 οὐ μὴ ἀποδοῇ ὑμῖν τὸ πλεῖον. εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως 17  
 οὐ οἶεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ματαίαν ταύ-  
 τὴν πράξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, εἴαν πράτ-  
 τῃ αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ  
 τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσῃ με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ μέντοι  
 ἡμῶς, εἴαν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ἣ ἐδωρο-  
 υν. ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· 18

ὁμύνω γὰρ ὑμῶν θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας μηδ' ἂ ἐμοὶ  
 ἰδία ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ  
 19 ἀκούων σύννοιδέ μοι, εἰ ἐπιорκῶ· ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον θανα-  
 μάσητε, συνεπόμενυμι μηδὲ ἂ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἐλα-  
 βον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνοι.  
 20 καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ; ὦ μὴν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον  
 συμφέροίμι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσοῦτ' ἄλλῳ  
 αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὅποτε δυνασθῇ. ἔγω δὲ  
 ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὁρῶ εὖ πράττοντα, καὶ γινώσκω δὴ  
 21 αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. εἴποι δὴ τις ἄν, οὐκ οὐν αἰσχρὴ  
 οὕτω μωρῶς ἐξαπατῶμενος ; ναὶ μὰ Δία ἡσχυρότην  
 μέντοι, εἰ ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε ὄντος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῳ  
 δὲ ὄντι ἐξαπατᾶν αἰσχρὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐξαπα-  
 22 τᾶσθαι. ἐπεὶ, εἴ γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακὴ, πᾶσιν  
 οἶδα ὑμᾶς φυλαξαμένους ὥς μὴ παρασχεῖν τούτῳ πρό-  
 φασιν. δικαίαν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ὑμῶν ἂ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε  
 γὰρ ἡδικήσαμεν τούτον οὐδὲν οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν  
 τὰ τούτου οὐδὲ μὴν κατεδείλιάσαμεν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ὃ, τι  
 23 ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεσεν. ἀλλά, φαίητε ἄν, ἔδει τὰ  
 ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὥς μηδ', εἰ ἐβούλετο, ἐδύνατο  
 ἐξαπατᾶν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσατε ἂ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν  
 ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι παντάπασιν  
 ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε εἶναι ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι.  
 24 ἀναμνήσθητε γάρ, ἐν ποίοις τισὶ πράγμασιν ὄντες  
 ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σεύθην.  
 οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον, εἰ προσῆτε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρίσταρ-  
 χος ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἶα εἰσιέναι ἀποκλείσας  
 τὰς πύλας, ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε, μέσος  
 δὲ χειμῶν ἦν, ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρήσθε σπάνια μὲν ὀρώντες  
 25 τὰ ὄνια, σπάνια δ' ἔχοντες, ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε, ἀνάγκη  
 δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θράκης· τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι  
 ἐκώλυον διαπλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μένοι τις, ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι,  
 26 ἐνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἵππεῖς ἦσαν ἐναντίοι, πολλοὶ δὲ πελ-  
 τασταί, ἡμῶν δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν, φ' ἀθρόοι μὲν ἴοντες

ἢ τὰς κόμας ἴσως ἂν ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν  
 δέν τι ἄφθονον, ὅτῳ δὲ διώκοντες ἂν ἡ ἀνδράποδα  
 πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ  
 πικρὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκὸς κατέ-  
 βον παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰ οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων 27  
 ὦν μηδ' ὄντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας Σεύθῃν σύμ-  
 χον ὑμῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχοντα καὶ ἵππείας καὶ πελ-  
 ττάς, ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδείσθε, ἢ κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν  
 ἰν βεβουλεύσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; τούτων γὰρ δῆπου 28  
 νωνήσαντες καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κόμαις  
 ἴσχετε διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θρᾷκας κατὰ  
 νυδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν, καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδρα-  
 ῶν μᾶλλον μετέσχετε. καὶ πολέμιον οὐκέτι οὐ- 29  
 ι ἐωρῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἡμῖν προσεγένετο·  
 ε δὲ θαρραλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ  
 ἰκῶ καὶ πελταστικῶ κωλύοντες μηδαμῇ κατ' ὀλί-  
 ι ἀποσκεδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα  
 ε πορίζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύ- 30  
 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνυ πολλὸν μισθὸν προστετέλει  
 ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα καὶ διὰ  
 το οὐδαμῇ οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ εἶναι; νῦν 31  
 ἢ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; οὐ διαχειμάρσαντες μὲν ἐν  
 ἰνοῖς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύοις, περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο,  
 ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀνᾶτε. καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες οὔτε ἄνδρας ἐπεί-  
 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε.  
 τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους ἐπέ- 32  
 το ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνους  
 ἰλλήνιν εὐκλείαν προσειλήφατε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐ-  
 Θρᾷκας, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσασθε, κρατήσαντες;  
 ἰεν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως, ἂν, ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε,  
 ἢν τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἶδέναι ὡς ἀγαθῶν. καὶ τὰ μὲν 33  
 ἑτέρα τοιαῦτα. ἄγετε δὲ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ  
 ἴσθε ὡς ἔχει. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὅτε μὲν πρότερον ἀπήρα

οἰκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολλὸν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευό-  
 μην, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων  
 εὐκλειαν. ἐπιστευόμην δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ  
 34 ἂν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. νῦν δὲ ἀπέρχομαι  
 πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος,  
 Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπήχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἡλπίζον εὖ ποιή-  
 σας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποστροφήν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παῖσιν,  
 35 εἰ γένοιντο, καταθήσεσθαι. ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ  
 ἀπήχθημαί τε πλείστα καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ κρείττοσιν  
 ἐμαντοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πῶ πέπαυμαι  
 ὃ, τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην ἔχετε γνώμην περὶ  
 36 ἐμοῦ. ἀλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες οὔτε  
 ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε ἃ λέγετε, ἴστε, ὅτι  
 ἄνδρα κατακατόντες ἔσσεσθε πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν  
 ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κιν-  
 δυνεύσαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος, θεῶν  
 δ' ἰλίων ὄντων καὶ τρόπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν  
 ὑμῖν στησάμενον, ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 πολέμιοι γένοισθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 37 διατεινόμενον. καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξοστιν ἀνεπιλή-  
 πτως πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ ἂν ἔλησθε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλατταν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅτι πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία  
 φαίνεται, καὶ πλέετε ἔνθα δὴ ἐπεθυμεῖτε πάλαι, δέον-  
 ταί τε ὑμῶν οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται,  
 ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἡκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κράτιστοι νομι-  
 ζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς τάχι-  
 38 στα ἐμὲ κατακατεῖν; οὐ μὴν ὅτε γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις  
 ἡμεν, ὧ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα  
 ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνήσθαι ὑπισχεῖ-  
 σθε. οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδὲ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν  
 ἡκοντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις  
 δοκεῖτε βελτίους εἶναι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ. ταῦτ'  
 εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

39 Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, 'Ἄλλ'

τὼ σιώ, ἐμοὶ μέντοι, [ὦ ἄνδρες,] οὐ δικαίως δοκεῖτε  
 ὁ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ  
 ἰσχυρῆσαι. Σεύθης γὰρ ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυ-  
 κούρου περὶ Ξενοφώντος, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν  
 με μέμψασθαι, ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν  
 αἰ· διὸ καὶ χειρόν αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν  
 Κεδαimoniῶν καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ 40  
 ῥύλοχος Δουσιᾶτης Ἀρκὰς εἶπε, Καὶ δοκεῖ γέ μοι,  
 ἴσους Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρα-  
 τῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀναπράξαι ἢ  
 νικῶντος ἢ ἀκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν.  
 Λυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἀναστὰς ὑπὲρ Ξενο- 41  
 κούρου, Ὅρῳ γε μὴν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην  
 ὑῖα παρόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα, ἃ ἡμεῖς  
 νήσαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος οὔτε Σεύθῃ ἀπέδωκεν  
 ἡμῖν τὰ γινγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαται.  
 ὅν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός  
 ἔφη, Θράξ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' Ἕλληνα ὦν Ἕλληνας  
 εἶ.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγη· 42  
 προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει, Ἡμεῖς ἦν σωφρονῶμεν,  
 ἐν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας. καὶ ἀνα-  
 ες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὄχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ  
 ὅν στρατόπεδον. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει 43  
 ῥιζέλμην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐρμηνέα πρὸς Ξενοφόντα καὶ  
 εἰ αὐτὸν καταμείναι παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχοντα χιλίους  
 ἀσ, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται αὐτῷ ὑποδώσειν τὰ τε χωρία  
 ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἔχρησχετο. καὶ ἐν ἀπορ-  
 ποιησάμενος λέγει, ὅτι ἀκήκοε Πολυνίκου, ὥς, εἰ  
 ἱρίος ἔσται Λακεδαιμόνιοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο  
 Ἰβρωνος. ἐπέστελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι πολ- 44  
 οὖ Ἕενοφώντι, ὥς διαβεβλημένος εἴη καὶ φυλάτ-  
 τῃ δέοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν  
 τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, πότερά οἱ λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον

εἴη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει ἡ ἀπίεσι  
σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. ἀναιρεῖ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.

- 7 Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προ-  
σωτέρω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας ὅθι  
ἔμελλον πλείστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἦξιν.  
αἱ δὲ κώμαι αὗται ἦσαν δεδομέναι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδο-  
2 σάδῃ. ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ  
ἐν ταῖς κώμας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε·  
καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν  
καταβεβηκότων καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοιτα ἔρχεται  
καὶ προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρα-  
τεύματος. καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τινος τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλ-  
3 λους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσέρχεται. ἐνθα δὴ λέγει  
Μηδοσάδης, Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κώ-  
μας πορθοῦντες. προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ  
Σεύθου καὶ ὃδε ὁ ἀνὴρ παρὰ Μηδόκου ἦκων τοῦ ἄνω  
βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐκ ἐπι-  
τρέφομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ', ἐὰν ποιῇτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν  
χώραν, ὥς πολεμίους ἀλεξόμεθα.
- 4 Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ σοὶ  
μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπὸν· τοῦδε  
δ' ἕνεκα τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν' εἰδῇ, οἷοί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστέ  
5 καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, πρὶν ὑμῖν φίλοι  
γενέσθαι ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ὅποι  
ἐβουλόμεθα, ἣν μὲν ἐθέλοισιν πορθοῦντες, ἣν δ' ἐθέ-  
6 λοισιν καίοντες, καὶ σὺ ὅποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσ-  
βεύων, ἡυλίζου τότε παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν  
πολεμίων· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἦτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ εἰ  
ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὥς ἐν κρειττόνων χώρα ἡυλίζεσθε ἐγκε-  
7 χαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε  
καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὲ  
ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆςδε τῆς χώρας, ἣν παρ' ἡμῶν  
ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος παρελάβετε· ὥς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα,  
8 οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. καὶ οὐχ

τως δῶρα δούς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες  
 ἰοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποπορευομένους  
 ἄς οὐδ' ἐναυλισθῆναι ὅσον δύνασαι ἐπιτρέπεις. καὶ 9  
 ὑτα λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνη οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα,  
 νῦν μὲν σε ὀρβὴ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον  
 νέσθαι ἀπὸ ληστείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὥς αὐτὸς.,  
 ἦσθα. ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα; ἔφη· 10  
 γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς  
 ρεδώκατε τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρα-  
 λέσαντες, ὧ θαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως, ὥσπερ ἀπηχθα-  
 ῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισαίμην  
 ἀποδιδούς.

Ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ μὲν, 11  
 Μηδόσades, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰ-  
 ὑνης ἀκούων ταῦτα. καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστά-  
 ς, οὐδ' ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι.  
 ἐ γὰρ ἂν Μηδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξε-  
 ῖνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν 12  
 ὄν ἀπήλανε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἱππεῖς πλὴν  
 τάρων ἢ πέντε. ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης, ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 ὥρα πορθομένη, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι  
 Λακεδαιμονίῳ. καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους 13  
 σῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ Πολυνίκῳ καὶ ἔλεξεν, ὅτι  
 εἰ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης προερῶν ἄπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπιέναι  
 γῆς χώρας. οἶμαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ 14  
 αἰατῇ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἵποιτε, ὅτι δεδῆ-  
 ὑμῶν ἢ στρατιὰ συναναπράξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρ'  
 τος ἢ παρ' ἄκοντος Σεύθου, καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυχόν-  
 προθύμως ἂν συνέπεσθαι ὑμῖν φασι, καὶ ὅτι δίκαια  
 δοκοῦσι λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε 15  
 εἶναι, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται. ἀκού-  
 γες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποια  
 ἰύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες  
 γας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος,



- Εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν,  
 16 εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν. ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλᾳ  
 δὴ ὑφειμένως, Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω, ἔφη, καὶ Σεύθης  
 τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιούμεν τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους  
 μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ὅ,τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους  
 κακῶς ποιήτε ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιοῦτε· ἡμέτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν.  
 17 Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίοιμεν ἂν, ὅποτε  
 τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ  
 μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσונτες τούτοις καὶ  
 τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας, οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους  
 ἠδίκησαν. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθένδε  
 18 ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε,  
 Ἐθέλοιτε δ' ἂν τούτοις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, ἐπιτρέψαι,  
 ἐπειδὴ φίλους ἔφατε εἶναι ὑμῖν, ἐν ᾧ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν,  
 19 ὁπότῃρα ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσήκεν ἐκ τῆς  
 χώρας ἀπιέναι εἴτε ἡμᾶς; ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη·  
 ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῶ τῷ Λάκωνι ἐλθεῖν παρὰ  
 Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἶεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πεί-  
 σαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ συμ-  
 πράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κόμας μὴ καίειν.  
 20 Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι Ξενοφῶντα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ  
 ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδεύτατοι εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς  
 21 Σεύθην, Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ  
 διδάξων, ἦν δύνωμαι, ὥς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἠχθέσθης, ὅτι  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήτουν σε προθύμως ἂν ὑπέ-  
 σχον αὐτοῖς· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἦττον ἐνόμιζον συμ-  
 22 φέρον εἶναι ἀποδοῦναι ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν· πρῶτον  
 μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε του-  
 τούς καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ γε βασιλέα σε ἐποίησαν  
 πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷον  
 τέ σοι λανθάνειν οὔτε ἦν τι καλὸν οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν  
 23 ποιήσης. τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν μοι ἐδόκει  
 εἶναι μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας  
 εὐεργέτας, μέγα δὲ εὖ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἐξακισχυρίων ἀν-

κόπων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν  
 παστήσαι ὅ,τι λέγοις. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων 24  
 ἰταίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλα-  
 μένους· οἱ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ὦσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκούντες,  
 ὅτων οἱ λόγοι, ἣν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μείον δύνανται  
 ὑσασθαι ἢ ἄλλων ἢ βία· ἣν τέ τινος σωφρονίζειν  
 ὕλονται, γινώσκω τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἥττον  
 φρονιζούσας ἢ ἄλλων τὸ ἤδη κολάζειν· ἣν τέ τῷ τι  
 ἰσχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μείον διαπράτ-  
 ται ἢ ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες. ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ 25  
 σύ, τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες.  
 θ' ὅτι οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες  
 ἵρας τοσούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύεσθαι τε καὶ  
 τεργάσασθαι σοι ἀρχὴν οὐ τριάκοντα μόνον ἄξιαν  
 ἰάντων, ὅσα οἴονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
 λαπλασίῳ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον τὸ πι- 26  
 ὑεσθαι σε τὸ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι κατεργασά-  
 ον τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ σοῦ πιπράσκειται.  
 δὴ ἀναμνήσθητι, πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε καταπράξα- 27  
 ι ἃ νῦν καταστρεφόμενος ἔχεις. ἐγὼ μὲν εὖ οἶδ'  
 εὖξω ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοι κατα-  
 χθῆναι ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων  
 σθαι. ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ αἴσχιον δοκεῖ 28  
 ι τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν,  
 περ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι ἢ  
 ἦν μὴ πλουτῆσαι, καὶ ὅσῳ λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασι-  
 ῖδιώτην φανῆναι ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεύσαι. οὐκοῦν 29  
 τασαι μὲν, ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι οὐ  
 χ τῇ σῇ ἐπείσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 κη, καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν πάλιν ἐλεύθεροι γίγνε-  
 ι εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι. ποτέρως οὖν 30  
 μᾶλλον ἂν φοβείσθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν  
 οὐδὲς σέ, εἰ ὁρῶέν σοι τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτω διακει-  
 ις ὥς νῦν τε μένοντας ἂν, εἰ σὺ κελεύεις, αὐθίς τ'

ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλλους τε τούτων περὶ  
 σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ταχὺ ἂν σοι, ὅποτε  
 βούλοιο, παραγενέσθαι, ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν μήτ' ἂν  
 ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γεγενη-  
 μένων τούτους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρους εἶναι ἢ σοί ;  
 31 ἄλλα μὴν οὐδὲν πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν  
 σοι, ἀλλὰ προστατῶν ἀπορία. οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο  
 κίνδυνος, μὴ λάβωσι προστατάς αὐτῶν τινας τούτων,  
 οἱ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείτ-  
 τονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔαν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται  
 ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον αὐτοῖς συστρατεύεσθαι, ἂν  
 τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 διὰ τὸ δέεσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς  
 32 ταῦτα. ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ νῦν ὑπὸ σοι Θρᾶκες γενόμενοι  
 πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἴοιεν ἐπὶ σε ἢ σὺν σοι οὐκ ἄδη-  
 λον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος δουλεία ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς,  
 33 κρατουμένου δέ σου ἐλευθερία. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χάρας  
 προνοεῖσθαι ἤδη τι δεῖ ὥς σῆς οὔσης, ποτέρως ἂν οἶαι  
 ἀπαθῆ κακῶν μᾶλλον αὐτὴν εἶναι, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται ἀπολαβόντες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν εἰρήνην καταλιπόν-  
 τες οἴχονται, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιεν ὥς ἐν πολεμίᾳ σύ  
 τε ἄλλους πειρᾶο πλείονας τούτων ἔχων ἀντιστρατο-  
 34 πεδεύεσθαι δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ; ἀργύριον δὲ  
 ποτέρως ἂν πλείον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τούτοις τὸ ὀφειλό-  
 μενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιτο ἄλλους τε  
 35 κρείττονας τούτων δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι ; ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 Ἡρακλείδῃ, ὥς πρὸς ἐμέ ἐδήλον, πάμπολυ δοκεῖ τοῦτο  
 τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. ἢ μὴν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν ἔλαττον νῦν  
 σοι καὶ λαβεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἢ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν  
 36 πρὸς σε δέκατον τούτου μέρος. οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν  
 ὁ ὀρίξων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ  
 τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος· σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ'  
 ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσσδος πλείων ἔσται ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ πα-  
 37 ρόντα πάντα, ἃ ἐκέκτησο. ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σεύθη, ταῦτα

φίλου ὄντος σου προενοούμην, ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος  
 κοίης εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοί σοι ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν ἐγὼ τε μὴ  
 κθαρεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ 38  
 ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος κακῶς ποιῆσαι δυνηθείην  
 ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὐτ' ἂν, εἴ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην  
 ἠθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην· οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς με ἡ  
 γατιὰ διάκειται. καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν 39  
 ἰς εἰδόσι ποιούμαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 γατιώταις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἤτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ  
 ἴνων οὔτε ἂν ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπήτησα· ὁμνυμι δέ σοι 40  
 ὅτι ἀποδιδόντος δέξασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἅλιν τὰ ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. αἰσχρὸν γὰρ  
 τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ διαπεπραῆχθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων περιιδεῖν  
 κακῶς ἔχοντα ἄλλως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων.  
 τοι Ἡρακλεῖδῃ γε λῆρος πάντα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς 41  
 ἱργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ,  
 ἐν νομίζω ἀνδρὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἰ-  
 κτῆμα οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης  
 γενναιότητος. ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν 42  
 οὐ φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βουλο-  
 οὐ γενέσθαι, καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς συν-  
 ησομένους, ἐὰν δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοη-  
 όντων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων 43  
 ἔμαθες, ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ  
 ἐμῶν λόγων δύνασαι τοῦτο γινῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν  
 ιτιωτῶν λόγους πάντως κατανόησον· παρήσθα  
 καὶ ἤκουες ἂν ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι.  
 γόρουν μὲν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥς σὲ 44  
 πλείονος ποιοίμην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐτοὶ δ'  
 ἵλουν ἐμοί, ὥς μᾶλλον μέλοι μοι ὅπως τὰ σὰ κα-  
 ἔχοι ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα  
 παρὰ σοῦ. καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον 45  
 αὐτοὺς κακόννοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰ-  
 θαί με ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ

- 46 σὲ κατανοήσαντας ; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν εὖνοϊαν δεῖν ἀποκείσθαι τούτῳ, παρ' οὗ ἂν δῶρά τις λαμβάνῃ. σὺ δὲ πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαι τί σοι ἐμὲ ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξενίοις καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἃ ἐβούλου καὶ γεγένησαι ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾶς περιορᾷν ; ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξειν σε καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τοὺς σοι προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν ὀρώντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. δέομαι οὖν σου, ὅταν ἀποδιδῶς, προθυμείσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι οἷον περ καὶ παρέλαβες.
- 48 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ πάντες Ἡρακλείδην τοῦτον ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οὔτε διανοήθην πώποτε ἀποστερηῆσαι ἀποδώσω τε.
- 49 ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφών, Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διανοῇ ἀποδιδόναι, νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ
- 50 στρατιᾷ νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμεθα. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, Ἄλλ' οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔσῃ δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος, ἂν τε μένης παρ' ἐμοὶ χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τᾶλλα, ἃ
- 51 ὑπεσχόμην. ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε, Ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι οἶδα ὃν παρ' ἐμοὶ
- 52 μένειν ἢ ἀπέναι. ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινώ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἷόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος ὦ, νόμιζε καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης, Ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον· βοὺς δὲ ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ

τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προσλαβὼν ἄπιθι. γελᾶσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, Ἐν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνηῖται ταῦτα 54 εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν ; ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοί ἐστιν, ἀπιώντα γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι πέτρους ; ἤκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.

Τῇ δ' ὕστερα λαὸς ἀπέδωκε τε αὐτοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο καὶ 55 τοὺς ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τέως μὲν ἔλεγον, ὥς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὥς Σεύθην οἰκῆσων καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ἀποληψόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκουσα εἶδον, ἤσθησάν τε καὶ προσέθεον. Ξενο- 56 φῶν δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμῖνόν τε καὶ Πολύνικον, Ταῦτα, ἔφη, καὶ σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραδίδομι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθέμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ. οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσήει, ἀλλὰ φανερὸς ἦν οἴκαδε πα- 57 ρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπήκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ Θίβρωνι παραδοίῃ.

Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον, καὶ ἀπαντᾷ 8 τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης μάντις Φλιάσιος ὁ Κλεαγόρου υἱὸς τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. οὗτος συνήδετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι ἐσέσωστο, καὶ ἡρώτα αὐτόν, πόσον χρυσίον ἔχοι. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν 2 ἢ μὴν ἔσεσθαι μὴδὲ ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιώντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἃ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ 3 ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἔθνε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην· ἰδὼν δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ὁ Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν, ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. Ἄλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι κἂν μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι, φαίνεται τι ἐμπόδιον, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ. συνωμολόγει

- 4 ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι ὁ  
 Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλίχιός ἐστι, καὶ ἐπήρητο, εἰ ἤδη ποτὲ θύ-  
 σειεν, ὥσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ  
 ὀλοκαυτεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδημήσῃ τεθυ-  
 κέναι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι  
 5 καθὰ εἰώθει, καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. τῇ δὲ  
 ὑστεραῖα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο  
 καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖ χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέ-  
 6 ρει. καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίῳ καὶ ἄμα  
 Εὐκλείδης χρήματα δώσοικτες τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ  
 ξενοῦνται τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ (τὸν) ἵππον, ὃν ἐν  
 Λαμφάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύον-  
 τες αὐτὸν δι' ἔνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον αὐτὸν  
 ἡδесθαι τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν  
 οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπολαβεῖν.
- 7 Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερ-  
 βάντες τὴν Ἰδην εἰς Ἀνταυδρον ἀφικνούνται πρῶτον,  
 εἰτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι τῆς Λυδίας εἰς Θή-  
 8 βης πεδίον. ἐντεῦθεν δι' Ἀτραμυττίου καὶ Κερτονίου  
 παρ' Ἀταρνέας εἰς Καϊκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες Πέργαμον  
 καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.
- 9 Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι τῇ  
 Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετρίεως γυναικὶ καὶ Γοργίωνος καὶ  
 10 Γογγύλου μητρί. αὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει, ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης  
 ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τούτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ  
 ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν αὐν  
 καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα·  
 11 εἶναι δὲ πολλά. ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε  
 τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλεί-  
 στου ἐποιεῖτο. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ'  
 εἰ αὐτῷ ἐθύετο. καὶ Βασίλας ὁ Ἡλείος μάντις παρὼν  
 εἶπεν, ὅτι κάλλιστα εἴη τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλώ-  
 σιμος εἴη. δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο τοὺς τε λοχαγοὺς  
 τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς γεγενημένους

διὰ παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιήσαι αὐτούς· συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαινον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὥς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν περίξ 12 ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα τὰ πλείεστα ἀπέδρα αὐτοὺς παραμελούντας, ὥς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. πυργομαχοῦντες δὲ ἐπεὶ 13 οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν, ὑψηλὴ γὰρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλη καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα, διορύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν πύργον. ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ' ὀκτὼ πλίνθων γηγίνων τὸ εὖρος. 14 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρώρυκτο· καὶ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βονπόρῳ τις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτῳ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποιοῦν μὴδὲ παρίεναι ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι. κεκραγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων ἐκβοηθοῦσιν 15 Ἰταβέλιος μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ ὀπλῖται Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Ἑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι ὥς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίων χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν, πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἀφοδος· 16 καὶ λαβόντες ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα ἤλαινον καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι, οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὕτω προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἀφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἷ τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπήεσαν ὥς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχομένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἑλ- 17 ληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίᾳ τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βουλόμενος μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ



- Προκλῆς ἐξ Ἀλυσάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας ὁ ἀπὸ Δα-  
 18 μαράτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἐπιέ-  
 ζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι  
 κύκλῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων,  
 μόλις διαβαίνουνσι τὸν Καῖικον ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι  
 19 ἐγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος  
 λοχαγὸς τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος  
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ διασώζονται ἀνδράποδα ὡς  
 διακόσια ἔχοντες καὶ πρόβατα ὅσον θύματα.  
 20 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφὼν ἐξάγει νύκτωρ  
 πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς  
 Λυδίας, εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι ἀλλ'  
 21 ἀφυλακτεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ'  
 αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη Ξενοφὼν καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύ-  
 ματι ἤξοι, ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κόμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον  
 22 πόλισμα ἐχούσας. ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συν-  
 τυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα  
 καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ  
 23 οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀφικνουῦ-  
 νται εἰς Πέργαμον. ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ᾔτιάσατο ὁ  
 Ξενοφὼν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες καὶ οἱ  
 λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ὥστ' ἐξαίρετα λαμβάνειν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ζεύγη καὶ  
 τᾶλλα· ὥστε ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.  
 24 Ἐκ τούτου Θίβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ  
 στράτευμα καὶ συμμίξας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέ-  
 μει πρὸς Τισσαφέρην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.  
 25 [Ἄρχοντες δὲ οἶδε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας ὅσην  
 ἐπήλθομεν. Λυδίας Ἀρτίμας, Φρυγίας Ἀρτακάμας,  
 Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας Μιθριδάτης, Κιλικίας  
 Σύνεσσις, Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας Δέρνης, Συρίας καὶ  
 Ἀσσυρίας Βέλεσος, Βαβυλῶνος Ῥωπάρας, Μηδίας  
 Ἀρβάκας, Φασιανῶν καὶ Ἑσπεριτῶν Τιρίβαζος· Καρ-  
 δοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Μάκρωνες

καὶ Κόλχοι καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι καὶ Κοῦται καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ αὐτόνομοι· Παφλαγονίας Κορύλλας, Βιθυνῶν Φαρνάβαζος, τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν Σεύθης. ἀριθμὸς δὲ 26 συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως σταθμοὶ διακόσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα πέντε, στάδια τρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια ἑξακόσια πενήκοντα. χρόνου πλῆθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.]



## A TABLE

showing the variations of HERTLEIN's Text from that of L. DINDORF, as  
published by Teubner in 1851.

*The reading of Dindorf stands first in each passage.*

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I, 2, 1 τὸ ἐνταῦθα] ἐνταῦθα 2, 3 Μεγαρεὺς eis] Μεγαρεὺς 2, 9 Σω-  
σις] Σωσίας 2, 10 Κεράμων] Κεραμῶν 2, 14 Τυριαῖον] Τυρίδειον Kie-  
pert 2, 16 ἐκκεκαθαρμένas] ἐκκεκαλυμμένas 2, 22 ἔμπλεων] σύμπλεων  
2, 27 ἀφαρπάξεσθαι] ἀρπάξεσθαι (ἀναρπάξεσθαι C. Matthiae as in I, 3, 14)  
3, 1 πρῶτος δὲ] πρῶτον δὲ C. Matthiae 3, 2 εἴτα δὲ] εἴτα 3, 4 πρὸς  
τοὺς Θρ.] ἐπὶ τοὺς Θρ. 3, 6 ὅπρ] ὅποι 3, 10 ἔπειτα δὲ] ἔπειτα  
3, 15 ᾧ ἂν] ὃν ἂν 3, 17 ᾧ δοίη] ᾧ ἂν δοίη 3, 19 ἀναγγεῖλαι] ἀπα-  
γεῖλαι 4, 2 στε] στι 4, 3 ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος] Λακεδαιμόνιος 4, 3 Ἀβρο-  
κόμα] Ἀβροκόμα Krüger 4, 6 Μυρίανδρον] Μυρίανδον 4, 7 διώκοι]  
διώκει 4, 10 Δάρδητος] Δαρδάκος 4, 15 εἰς τοῦμπαλιν] τοῦμπαλιν  
4, 15 φίλοι] φίλου 5, 8 ποιεῖν ὥσπερ ὀργῇ, ἐκέλευσε] ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀ-  
ργῇ ἐκέλευσε 5, 9 ὅσφ μὲν] ὅσφ μὲν ἂν 5, 13 ἰππέας] ἰππεῖς 5,  
14 τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος] τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος 6, 1 ἵχνη] ἵχνια 6, 3 αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ  
6, 3 ἔχων ἰππέας] ἔχων ἰππεῖς 6, 4 περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ] περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
6, 5 αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ 6, 10 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ] ἐπὶ θάνατον 7, 5 ὅπισχνη] ὅπι-  
σχνη 7, 11 δ' αἶ] δὲ 7, 15 ἐνθα δὴ... ἔπεισιν] [ἐνθα δὴ... ἔπει-  
σιν] Krüger 8, 3 Κύρος τε] Καὶ Κύρος τε 8, 6 [λέγεται... διακιν-  
δυεύειν] λέγεται... διακινδυνεύειν 8, 8 οὐ] (οὐ) 8, 13 Ἑλληνικοῦ]  
[Ἑλληνικοῦ] Hertlein 8, 13 τὸ ἐαυτοῦ] τῶν ἐαυτοῦ 8, 20 ἐφέρετο]  
ἐφέροnton 8, 20 ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ] [ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ] Hertlein  
8, 22 ἡμίσει] ἐν ἡμίσει Bisschop (anott. critt. in Xen. Anab. Lugduni-  
Bat. 1851) 9, 15 ἀξιοῦσθαι] ἀξιοῦν 9, 31 περὶ αὐτὸν] παρ' αὐτὸν  
10, 12 ἐπὶ ξύλῳ] [ἐπὶ ξύλῳ]

II, 1, 2 πέμποι] πέμποι 1, 3 Δημαράτου] Δαμαράτου 1, 3 ὤ-  
ρωντο] ὤρωντο Schneider 2, 5 δεῖ] δεῖ 2, 11 ἐνθα δ' εἵτι] ἐνθα δὲ  
τι Schneider 2, 15 νέμοιτο] νέμοιnton 3, 1 τῷδε] τῷδε 3, 8 ταῦ-

τα] ταῦτα Zeune 3, 27 πορεύεσθαι] πορεύεσθαι 4, 1 παροισχυμένων]  
 παρσχυμένων 4, 4 [τὸν] βασιλέα] τὸν βασιλέα 4, 6 ἴσμεν] οἴδαμεν  
 4, 17 παρὰ τὴν γ.] ἐπὶ τὴν γ. 4, 19 σωθεῖμεν] σωθῶμεν 4, 26 ὅσον  
 δὲ] ὅσον δὲ [ἀν] 5, 2 χρῆ[σι] χρῆ[ζει] 5, 18 ἀν κολάσεσθε] ἀν κολά-  
 σαισθε Hertlein 5, 18 πεδία & ὑμεῖς] πεδία ἡμῖν 5, 22 αἴτιος τδ]  
 αἴτιος τοῦ 5, 28 εἶπες] εἶπας 5, 81 ἐπὶ ταῖς δύραις ἔμενον] ἐπὶ δύ-  
 ραις ἔμ. 5, 33 ἡμφιγνόνουν] ἡμφεγνόνουν Buttmann (Ausf. gr. Sprachl. § 86  
 Anm. 6) 5, 38 βασιλεὺς] [δ] βασιλεὺς 6, 12 ἔρχοντας] ἀρχομένους

III, 1, 2 ἀπολλώλεσαν] ἀπολλώλεσαν 1, 6 κάλλιστα] κάλλιστ' ἀν  
 1, 17 ὁμοπατρίου] τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου 2, 12 ὁπόσους] ὁπόσους ἀν 2 37 ἄλ-  
 λο τι] ἄλλος τις 3, 7 ἐγένετο] ἐγένοντο 3, 12 αἰτιῶντο] ἡτιῶντο  
 4, 10 πρὸς τῇ πόλει] πρὸς [τῇ] πόλει Krüger and Porpo 4, 15 Σκύθαι]  
 [Σκύθαι] Krüger 4, 16 τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει] [τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει] Ma-  
 ret 4, 22 ἀνεξιμπλάσαν] ἀν ἐξεξιμπλάσαν Krüger 4, 23 ἐπιπαρῆ-  
 εσαν] ἐπιπαρήσαν 4, 24 ἡ κόμη] κόμη 4, 25 ἀναβαίνειν] ἀναβαίνειν  
 4, 30 οἱ μὲν τῇ ὀδῷ] οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ Bisschop 4, 31 καὶ κριθᾶς] κριθᾶς  
 4, 33 διέφερον] διέφεραν 4, 33 ὁρμῶντες] ὁρμῶμενους Schneider after  
 Suidas 4, 38 πορευόμενοι] πορευόμενους 4, 36 λύειν] λυσιτελεῖν  
 4, 47 ὀχεῖ] ὀχῷ 5, 13 τοῦμπαλιν] τοῦμπαλιν [ῆ] 5, 14 αἰχμαλώ-  
 τούς] ἐαλωκότας 5, 17 ἀκούσαντες δὲ] ἀκούσαντες

IV, 1, 14 ὑποστάντες] ἐπιστάντες Porpo 1, 19 θάψαι αὐτὰ] θάψαι  
 1, 20 ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦτα] ἀποκρίνεται 1, 20 ἴδε] ἴδέ 1, 24 οὐ  
 φαίη διὰ ταῦτα] διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φαίη 1, 24 τυγχάνει] ἐτύγχανε 1, 27  
 ὑφίστανται] ὑφίσταται 3, 4 Μάρδοι] Μαρδόνιοι 3, 12 πρόσβατον]  
 προσβατὸν Krüger 3, 12 πρόσθεν διαβαίνειν] πρόσθεν διαβῆναι 3,  
 29 and 32 σαλπικτῆς] σαλπικτῆς 4, 17 ποδαπὸς] τὸ ποδαπὸς 5, 1 πρὶν]  
 πρὶν ἢ 5, 5 ἄλλο τι εἴ τι] ἄλλο [τι] εἴ τι Bornemann 5, 10 πορεύ-  
 οιντο] πορεύονται 5, 10 ἀπέχοι] ἀπέχει 5, 11 τὴν ὁδὸν] ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ  
 5, 14 αὐτοῖς πεποιημένοι] πεποιημένοι 6, 19 λείπειν] λιπεῖν 6, 22 ὡς  
 ἦσθοντο] ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο 6, 24 ἀλλήλων] ἀλλήλοις 7, 10 δύο ἢ τρία]  
 δύο καὶ τρία 7, 13 Αἰνέας] Αἰνέας 7, 23 βοῇ πλείων] (ἢ) βοῇ  
 πλείων Krüger 8, 1 τὴν τῶν] τὴν τε τῶν 8, 2 ὑπερδέξιον] ὑπὲρ  
 δεξιῶν 8, 8 διήγαγον] παρήγαγον 8, 17 ἐαυτῶν] αὐτῶν 8, 18 ἐνὰ  
 κράτος] ἀνακραγόντες 8, 23 ἐλθίζοντο] ἐληίζοντο 8, 26 ὅπου ἀν]  
 ὅποι ἀν Krüger

V, 1, 4 δὲ καὶ] δὲ [καὶ] Krüger 1, 9 μερισθέντες] [μερισθέντες]  
 Krüger has omitted it 1, 10 πλευσόμεθα] πλευσούμεθα 1, 12 κατ-  
 άγωμεν] καταγάγωμεν 2, 14 ὁμόσε] ὁμοῦ 2, 21 κατέλιπον δὲ] κατα-  
 λιπόντες 2, 26 φορεῖν] φέρειν 3, 6 ἢν δέ τι πάθῃ] εἰ δέ τι πάθοι  
 3, 9 σκηνώσιν] σκηνοῦσιν 3, 13 ΤΟΝ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ] ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ

4, 4 ἔλεξε] ἔλεγε 4, 6 εἰ τί ποτε] εἰ τι πάποθ' 4, 20 ἔπερ ἡμῖν]  
 ἔπερ συν ἡμῖν 4, 21 δόξετε and δηλώσητε] δόξετε and δηλώσετε  
 4, 32 ἀνθέμιον] ἀνθέμια 4, 34 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς] ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν Krüger  
 5, 3 ἀποικίαν] ἀποίκους 5, 7 φόρους] φόρον 5, 11 λαμβάνειν] βίβ  
 λαμβάνειν 5, 20 αὐτῶν] ἑαυτῶν 5, 22 ποιήσομεν] ποιούμεθα  
 5, 25 ὦν] καὶ ὦν 6, 12 ἡμεῖς ἂν πλείομεν] ἡμεῖς δὲ πλείομεν ἂν  
 6, 15 ἰππέας] ἰππεῖς 6, 16 τό τε αὐτῶν] τό τε αὐτῶν 6, 24 τῆς  
 μέν and τῆς δέ] τὰ μέν and τὰ δέ 6, 33 ἀπολιπὼν τινα] ἀπολιπὼν  
 6, 33 ἐδεδοίκεσαν] ἐδεδίσαν 7, 5 ἀδικεῖν and ἀδικεῖν] ἀδικῶν and ἀδι-  
 κοῦντες 7, 13 ἀπήλθον] ἀπελθεῖν Lion, vulg. ἐλθεῖν 7, 30 ἀφικνεῖ-  
 σθαι] ἀφικνήσθαι 8, 2 τὸν πρῶτον πρῶτον] τὸν πρῶτον 8, 4 ἐδίδως]  
 ἐδίδους 8, 6 ἀπαγαγόν] ἀγαγόν Krüger, vulg. ἀπάγων

VI, 1, 1 λρζόμενοι] ληζόμενοι 1, 16 τριήρεις] τριήρη 1, 22 ἑορα-  
 κέναι] ἑωρακέναι 1, 23 ὅσπερ] ὥσπερ 2, 4 σῖτα] σιτία 2, 6 ἔστι  
 δ' οἱ] εἰσὶ δ' οἱ 2, 11 ἑαυτοῦς τε] ἑαυτοῦς 2, 13 αὐτῶν] αὐτοῦ Krüger  
 3, 1 Dindorf places this on the margin 3, 3 διαφυγόντες] διαφεύγοντες  
 3, 4 διέφυγον] διέφευγον 3, 16 ἀποπλευσόμεθα] ἀποπλευσούμεθα  
 3, 16 μένουσι τε] μένουσι δὲ 3, 26 ἀπολείπεσθαι] ἀπολιπέσθαι  
 4, 9 [καλὰ] καλὰ 4, 9 μέγα καὶ πυρὰν μεγάλην] μέγα 4, 10 Ἀγα-  
 σίας τε] Ἀγασίας [τε] 4, 10 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι] καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι 4, 15 κη-  
 ρύξας Ξενοφῶν] κηρύξας 4, 22 βοῦν] βοῦς 5, 4 τοῦ στρατοπέδου]  
 στρατοπέδου 6, 3 κατήγον] κατήγοντο Cobet (Mnemosyne Jahrg. 1852,  
 2. St.) 6, 15 οὖν ἀπολύω] μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω 6, 27 λήζοιτο] ληζοίτο  
 6, 29 συνήγε] συνήγαγε 6, 31 ἐφέιτο] ὑφέιτο

VII, 1, 1 πλέοντες] ἐκπλέοντες 1, 2 τὴν αὐτοῦ] τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 1, 8 ἀποπλευσόμενος] ἀποπλευσούμενος 1, 26 ἑορακώτας] ἑωρακώτας  
 1, 28 Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν] Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν καὶ τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων Pfugk (ἀρχαίων given by H. Stephens as a various reading)  
 1, 33 σῖτα] σιτία 1, 35 σῖτα] σιτία 1, 36 ὅς ἂν] ὅστις ἂν  
 1, 37 ἄλλοι εἴκοσι] ἄλλοι εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες 1, 37 ἀνὴρ] εἰς ἀνὴρ  
 1, 39 μέλλοι] μέλλοις Krüger 2, 6 εὖρη] εὖροι 2, 25 παρὰ θαλάτ-  
 τη] ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ 2, 26 ἴθι νῦν] ἴθι νυν 2, 34 λρζόμενος] ληζόμενος  
 2, 37 δέξει] δέξῃ 3, 20 πείσει] πείσῃ 3, 29 ποιήσει] ποιήσει  
 3, 31 ἀπολήψει, κτήσει and κατακτήσει] ἀπολήψῃ, κτήσει and κατακτήσῃ  
 3, 31 λήξεσθαι] ληζέσθαι 3, 31 πρὸς σέ] πρὸς σε 3, 34 ὁμῶν καὶ  
 ἡμῖν] ἡμῖν καὶ ὁμῶς 3, 36 ἀναμένετε] ἀναμενεῖτε 3, 45 δέει] δέῃ  
 3, 46 ἰππέας] ἰππεῖς 4, 2 ὅπως μισθὸς γένηται] ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο  
 4, 8 δέεται] δέεται 4, 10 μηδέτερον] μηδὲ ἕτερον 4, 11 ἴνα μὴ] ἴνα μὴδ'  
 4, 12 ἡμέραι οὐ] ἡμέραι τ' οὐ Schneider 4, 12 σκηνοφῶν] σκηνοῖεν  
 4, 19 σαλπικτὴν] σαλπικτὴν 5, 1 ἀρχαίου τινός] [ἀρχαίου τινός] Krüger

5, 5 *σαντοῦ*] *ἐαυτοῦ* 5, 8 *παραδόσοι*] *παραδώσειν* 5, 18 *λίζονται*] *ληίζονται* 6, 1 *ἀφικνούνται*] *ἀφικνεῖται* 6, 2 *δέει*] *δέη* 6, 21 *αἰσχύνει*] *αἰσχύνῃ* 6, 22 *ἡμᾶς and ἡμῖν*] *ὑμᾶς and ὑμῖν* 6, 24 *προσίοιτε*] *προσῆτε* Borgmann 6, 36 *κατακεκαυότες*] *κατακαυόντες* 6, 37 *ὅτε*] *ὅτι* 6, 37 *πλείτε*] *πλέετε* 6, 41 *ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ*] *ἀναστὰς ὑπὲρ* 6, 44 *ἀναιρεῖ δὲ*] *ἀναιρεῖ* 7, 7 *νῦν δὴ*] *νῦν δὲ* 7, 9 *αἰσχύνει*] *αἰσχύνῃ* 7, 11 *ἐπεὶ δὲ*] *ἐπεὶ* 7, 31 *δεῖσθαι*] *δέεσθαι* 7, 35 *τὸ δέκατον*] *δέκατον* 7, 49 *διανοεῖ*] *διανοῇ* 7, 50 *ἔσει*] *ἔσῃ* 8, 8 *ἱερεῖα*] *ἱερά* 8, 6 *Βίτων*] *Βίων* 8, 6 *ἵππον*] *(τὸν) ἵππον* Porro 8, 8 *Κερτωνοῦ*] *Κερτονίου* 8, 16 *τὰ ἀνδράποδα*] *ἀνδράποδα* 8, 20 *ὥστε μὴ*] *εἰς τὸ μὴ* 8, 25 and 26 *ἄρχοντες . . . μῆνες.*] [*ἄρχοντες . . . μῆνες.*]

## NOTES.



## EXPLANATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

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### I. *Commentators on the Anabasis.*

Krüg. . . .	Krüger.	Hert. . . .	Hertlein.
Kühn. . . .	Kühner.	Matt. . . .	Matthiae.

### II. *Other Authorities.*

- L. & S.—Liddell & Scott's Greek-English Lexicon. American edition.  
 And. & St.—Andrews & Stoddard's Latin Grammar.  
 Gr. or Gram.—Kühner's Greek Grammar (larger edition), published by D. Appleton & Co., N. Y.  
 Dic. Antiqq.—Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. By Dr. William Smith. Little & Brown, Boston, 1849.

### III. *Works of Xenophon.*

Cyr. or Cyrop. . . .	Cyropaedia.
Mem. . . . .	Memorabilia.
Hellen. . . . .	Hellenica, or Historia Graeca.
Agea. . . . .	Agesilaus.
Cyneg. . . . .	Cynegeticus, or de Venatione.

### IV. *Other Authors.*

Plat. . . . .	Plato.	Dem. . . . .	Demosthenes.
Thucyd. . . .	Thucydides.	Diod. Sic. . .	Diodorus Siculus.
Herod. . . . .	Herodotus.	Plut. . . . .	Plutarch.

### V. *Miscellaneous.*

Cf. (= confer) . . .	compare, see.
sc. (= scilicet) . . .	namely, to wit, understand.
κ.τ.λ. . . . .	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ = etc.
art. . . . .	article.
comm. . . . .	commonly.
lit. . . . .	literally.
syn. . . . .	synecdoche.
meton. . . . .	metonymy.
c. (= cum) . . . .	with.
Xen. is often used instead of the full name Xenophon.	

The remaining abbreviations, as gen. for genitive, and the like, are thought to be sufficiently obvious without particular explanation.

# NOTES.

## BOOK FIRST.

\*Ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κόρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης,—the Anabasis proper; that is, the march upward to the vicinity of Babylon, including an account of the battle of Cunaxa.

### CHAP. I.

The occasion and manner of raising the army.

§ 1. Darius II., called Nothus, was king of Persia from 423 to 404, B. C. — Δαρείου καὶ Παρ. γίγνονται: lit. *there are born of Darius* etc. Δαρείου is gen. of origin or author. Gram. § 273, 1; γίγνονται is the historical present, which is more common in Greek than in Latin. Gram. § 255, Rem. 1. Cf. just below μεταπέμπεται, ἀναβαίνει, διαβάλλει. — παῖδες δύο: instead of two children, Ctesias the Greek physician employed by Darius and Artaxerxes mentions thirteen. It appears from 1, 8, 26, and 27, that Xen. had read the works of Ctesias. We must assume, therefore, that he says in this place παῖδες δύο, not because he supposed that Darius and Parysatis had only two sons, but because only two are particularly considered; or because all except Artaxerxes and Cyrus died young. This latter statement rests on the authority of Ctesias (Persica, c. 49, cited by Grote). — Artaxerxes II., called Mnemon, reigned from 404 to 361. — τελευτήν: often occurs like ἀρχή without the article. Cf. 2, 6, 29. Mem. 1, 5, 2. ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου.

§ 2. μὲν, which cannot properly be translated into English, serves in general to call attention to the fact that the clause in which it stands is to be distinguished from another clause which follows. The following clause is commonly as here introduced by δέ. Both of these particles are always postpositive. — παρὼν cannot be translated literally; the Eng. idiom

requires an infin., *happened to be present*. For the verbs with which the particip. is used as a complement instead of the infin., see Gram. § 310, 4. — *μεταπέμπεται*: *sends for*, suggesting by the middle voice the idea *to come to himself* (Gram. § 250.); hence the construction ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρ. by which it is followed. — *καὶ στρατηγὸν δέ*: a transition to an independent from a relative clause. So in 1, 8, 26, and often. The command of the forces which assembled in the plain of Castolus (in Lydia), had belonged to Tissaphernes; but he had been succeeded in 407, B. C. by Cyrus, and hence arose without doubt the secret enmity of Tissaphernes to Cyrus. — *ἀρροῖσονται*: *are wont to assemble*, to be reviewed annually by the governor (στρατήγης) of the province. — *ὡς φίλον*: *as a friend, on the supposition of his being a friend*. *ὡς* denotes that which appears to be, that which is believed to be. It is frequently used thus before participles. Cf. *ὡς ἀποκτενῶν* § 3. — *ἀναβαίνει . . . ἀνέβη*: such changes from the historical present to the past are very frequent. For similar repetitions of the same word, cf. 1, 7, 18; 1, 10, 8. Allusion is made again to this first expedition of Cyrus to Babylon in 1, 8, 18, and 1, 4, 12. — *Παρράσιον*: the Parrhasians were an Arcadian people.

§ 3. *κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν*: *became established in the kingdom*. A verb of rest is here followed by a construction which denotes motion—an elliptical form of expression not uncommon. — *ὡς*: *saying that, to the effect that*; — *ἐπιβουλεύει*: *oratio obliqua*, Gram. § 345. — *ὡς ἀποκτενῶν*: *as if to put him (Cyrus) to death*. Cf. note on *ὡς* § 2. The fut. particip. is often used as in Latin to denote a purpose. — *αὐτόν* belongs to *ἀπεπέμπει* as well as to *ἐξαγησαμένη*.

§ 4. *ὡς*: *as, when, ut*. — *ὅπως*: used here as a relative adv. *how, in what way*. Cf. 4, 6, 7; 4, 8, 9. — *ἐπὶ τῇ*: *in the power of*. *ἐπὶ* with the dat. is also used in this sense with *γίγνεσθαι*. Cf. 3, 1, 18, and 5, 8, 17. — *ὑπῆρχε*: *favoured*. Cf. 5, 6, 23.

§ 5. *ὅστις*: although singular is collective, and hence may relate to *πάντας* which is plural. — Observe the notion of repeated action expressed by the present and imperf. *διατιθεῖς, ἀπεπέμπετο, ἀφικνεῖτο*. — *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως*: a condensed form of expression very common in Greek as well as in English for *τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ παρὰ βασιλέως*. — *βασιλεύς*, when spoken of the Persian king, seems to be viewed as a proper name; and hence the use of the article with this word as with proper names generally is extremely variable. See Gram. § 244. 7. — *τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς* = *ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι*: *he paid attention to the barbarians that they etc.*; instead of, *he paid attention that the barbarians etc.* An instance of what may be called *anticipation* or *prolepsis*, commonly called *attraction*. It is particularly frequent with *ἐπιμελέσθαι*. — *εὐνοῶς ἔχειν*: *to be friendly*. An adv. with *ἔχειν* instead of an adjunct. with

εἶναι is a frequent idiom, e. g. 3, 2, 37, ἄλλως εἶχειν, *to be otherwise*; 4, 8, 16, καλῶς εἶχειν, *to be well*; 3, 1, 3, ἀθύμως εἶχειν, *to be dispirited*. — εἶσαν instead of εἶεν is not uncommon; but see note on παραβολήσαν, 2, 1, 10.

§ 6. τήν implies that the Grecian force here mentioned was something already well known; a common use of the article. — ἡθορίζεν and ἐποιεῖτο: observe that the imperf. here denotes an action *in its continuance*, not as in § 5, *repeated action*. See Gram. § 256. — ὅτι qualifies ἀπαρασκευότατον: ὡς and ὅτι like the Latin *quam* are often used to qualify the superlative degree. When ὡς is used the expression is often still further strengthened by the proper part of δύναμι. Thus just above, ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο, *the very most he was able, as much as possible*. — ὅσους... ἐκάστοις: in this sentence the demonstrative to which the relative ὅσους refers is omitted. Gram. § 331. Rem. 3. Expressed more fully it would be ὅσους εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τούτων (τῶν φυλακῶν) τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις παρήγγειλε: *whatever garrisons he had in the cities, to the several commanders (of these) he sent orders etc.* See also Gram. § 332, 8. — Πελοποννησίους: the Peloponnesians, especially the Arcadians were employed more than any of the other Greeks as mercenaries. — ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος: for the force of ὡς, cf. note on § 2. — καὶ γάρ, *eternim, since also*. — ἦσαν: has the force of the pluperf., cf. note on ἐτύγχανεν § 8. — ἐκ βασιλείας: with the passive, ἐκ instead of ὑπό is unusual in Attic prose. It denotes properly the idea of *source* rather than of *cause*. Cf. ἐκ πάντων 2, 6, 1.

§ 7. προαισθόμενος: *having become aware beforehand*, i. e. before an open rupture with Cyrus. — βουλευομένων: for the use of the particip. instead of the infin. (where we should translate by a finite mood), see Gram. § 310, 4, (a). — ἀποστήναι πρὸς Κύρον, *to revolt to Cyrus*, is explanatory of τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. In ἀποστήναι the single act is considered; but in τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, the various transactions which it involved. — τοὺς φεύγοντας and τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας: *the exiles*. Different words, having the same general meaning, are here used for variety of expression. ἐκβάλλειν (used just above) signifies *to banish*; and to this ἐκπίπτειν corresponds as a passive, meaning *to be banished*; φεύγειν, *to flee, to be a fugitive, to be in a state of banishment*; κατέγειν, *to restore* (to one's home), spoken of exiles. — καὶ... αὖ: the emphatic idea is placed between these connectives, as between οὐδὲ... αὖ and καὶ... δέ. — αὕτη is the subject and πρόφασις the predicate of ἦν. — τοῦ ἀθροΐζειν: the infinitive used substantively and dependent on πρόφασις. Gram. § 308, 11.

§ 8. ὣν: the participle in Greek as in Latin denotes the various ideas of time, cause, or condition. The prominent notion here is that of cause, — ἀδελφὸς ὣν αὐτοῦ, *because he was a brother of his*. As ἀδελφός stands without

the article, it is indefinite. *ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ* would mean *his brother*. — *οἱ* (dat. of the substantive personal pronoun 3d pers.) is distinguished in meaning from *αὐτῶ* in that it is reflexive, and from *ἐαυτῶ* in that it is a reflexive for a dependent clause. *οἱ* is regularly enclitic in the Attic dialect, but retains the accent here because it is emphatic. — *πολεμοῦντα* which denotes prominently the notion of time, *while he was engaged in war*, expresses also the cause or reason of *παυῶν*. Cf. note on *ὅν*. — *αὐτόν*, i. e. *Κύρον*. — *ὅστε* is followed here by a finite mood, and means *so that, wherefore, consequently*, denoting a result. With the infin. (as above § 5), it means *so as to*, denoting an end in view. — *οὐδέν*, *in nothing, in no respect*; a more emphatic negative than *οὐκ*. It is accus. synec. Gram. § 279, 7. Cf. *τοῦτο ἐχθεσθε* 3, 2, 20. — *γυγνομένους*, *arising, accruing*. — *ὃν* is the object of *ἔχων* which would naturally take the accus. *ἄς*. The relative is attracted to the case of the antecedent. Gram. § 332, 6. — *ἐτόγγχανεν ἔχων* is to be translated by the pluperfect, a tense which does not occur so often in Greek as in English. Cf. note on *ἦσαν* § 6.

§ 9. *τῇ* points out the phrase *καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου* as qualifying *Χερρονήσῳ*. For an explanation of this position of the article, see Gram. § 245, 3. Instead of *the Cherronesus opposite to Abydus*, the name "*Thracian Cherronesus*" was afterwards adopted. — *τόνδε τὸν τρόπον*, *in the following manner*. For the construction of *τρόπον*, see Gram. § 278, Rem. 3. The pronouns *ὅδε*, *τοῖόσδε*, *τοσούσδε*, and the adv. *ὥδε* commonly denote what follows; *οὗτος*, *τοιούτος*, *τοσούτος*, and *οὕτως* commonly refer to what precedes. — *ἡγάσθη . . . δίδωσιν*: such a change in tense is not uncommon in Greek. In § 2 (*ἀναβαίνει . . . ἀνέβη*) the tense is changed from pres. to past. — *δαρεικούς*: named from Darius. In a similar way the English, French, and German gold coins are named from the reigning sovereign. For a print of one of these Persian coins, see Dic. Antiqq. art. *Darius*. The *δαρικός* was also called *στατήρ*; it was worth about \$3.50. — *ἀπό*, *with*, denoting the means. Not a very common use of this preposition. — *ἐκ . . . ὀρμώμενος*: the present denotes something continued or repeated; — *repeatedly rushing out from Cherronesus*; or in the English idiom, *making his head-quarters at Cherronesus*. — *Θραξί* depends on *ἐπολέμει*. — *τοῦτο* belongs to *τὸ στράτευμα*. — *τρεφόμενον ἐλάσθαι*: lit. *in being supported escaped observation*, or in an Eng. idiom, *was supported secretly*. — *αὐτῶ* depends on *τρεφόμενον*.

§ 10. *ὅν*: cf. note on *παράν* § 1. — *καί* before *πιεζόμενος* connects *ἐτόγγχανε* and *ἔρχεται*, another instance of change in tense. Cf. note § 9. — *τῶν οἴκοι ἄντ.*: the adv. is often used adjectively. Gram. § 262, d. — *αὐτῷ* takes two accusatives *αὐτόν* and *μισθόν*. Gram. § 280, 3. — *εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους*, as well as *τριῶν μηνῶν*, belongs to *μισθόν*: — *pay sufficient for two thousand mercenaries and for three months*. — *ὥς*, *as if, on the*

*supposition that.* Cf. note § 2. — *ἐν* belongs to *πρεργυνόμενος* and renders it conditional. Without *ἐν* it would mean, *as if thus having been superior* to etc., or, *as if he had thus been superior* to etc. It now means, *as if he would be superior* etc. The participle or infinitive takes *ἐν* when on changing the clause into an independent sentence, the optat., or indicative of a historic tense with *ἐν* would be required. — For the government of *αὐτοῦ* after *δεῖται*, see Gram. § 273, 5, (b). — *πρόσθεν* . . . *πρὶν*, *until*; a common form of pleonasm, employed for the sake of emphasis. — *καταλῦσαι πρὸς*, *to come to an agreement with*. — *ἐν* with the aor. subjunct. corresponds to the Latin future perfect, *πρὶν κ.τ.λ.*, lit. *until he shall have conferred with him* (i. e. Cyrus).

§ 11. *ὥς*: *as if, on the ground that.* Cf. note § 2. — *εἰς Πισιδίαν*: the name of the people instead of the name of the country, as frequently in Latin. The Pisidians were a warlike people inhabiting a mountainous region S. E. from Lydia. They had never been fully subdued by the Persians. — *πράγματα παρέχειν*: *to give trouble*. Cf. note 4, 1, 17. — *Στυμφάλιον*: from Stymphalus in Arcadia. — *καὶ τούτους*: *these also*, i. e. Sophænetus and Socrates as well as Proxenus, and Aristippus. — *σύν*, *with, in company with*; *πολεμεῖν σύν*, *to carry on war in company with*; *πολεμεῖν τινι*, *εἰς τινα*, or *πρὸς τινα*, *to carry on war against any one*.

## CHAP. II.

The march from Sardis to Tarsus. First, on pretence of making an expedition against the Pisidians, Cyrus marches to Celaenae their ancient capital; thence he returns to Keraon Agora and commences his march eastward. Before arriving at the Cilician pass, he is met by Epyaxa wife of Syennesis the King of Cilicia. He meets with no obstacle at the pass, and soon after his arrival at Tarsus, Syennesis surrenders to him.

§ 1. *ἐδόκει*: *it seemed good*, a very common signification of this word. — *ἤδη*: *already, at length*, i. e. after all necessary preparations had been made. — *ἔνω*: *upward*, from the coast into the interior; here it means, into upper Asia. *ἀνα-* in composition is often used in the same manner; e. g. *ἀναβαλεῖν*, *ἀνάστασις*. The opposite is *κάτω*, *κατα-*. — *τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο*: the antithetical clause implied by *μὲν* is not expressed. It would perhaps be somehow thus, *τῷ δ' ὅτι ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα ἐπορεύετο*, *but in reality he was marching against the king*. — *ἐκ*: *from, out of*, in distinction from *ἀπὸ* which means *from, away from*. — *ὥς*: cf. note 1, 1, 2. — *τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στρά.*: *the Grecian army which was there*, i. e. in the satrapy of Cyrus. *Ἑλληνικόν* and *ἐνταῦθα* are closely connected in idea and consequently have only one article. — *λαβόντι ἕσεν ἦν αὐτῷ*

στράτευμα: *having taken all the army which he had*. The antecedent here stands in the relative clause. Cf. note on *ὅπως* . . . ἐκδότοις 1, 1, 6. See also Gram. § 332, 8. — συναλλαγέντι πρὸς: *having become reconciled to*. Cf. καταλῦσαι πρὸς 1, 1, 10. — ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα: *the army which he had*; another instance of the antecedent in the relative clause. The antecedent is separated from the relative by an intervening word, and stands without the article, as usual. Gr. § 332, 8. — τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξεν.: for the allusion, see 1, 1, 6. where it appears that the Ionian cities are meant. The clause ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι has the position and force of an adjective,—lit. *the in the cities mercenary force*, i. e. in an Eng. idiom, *the mercenary force which was in the cities*. For the government of ξενικοῦ see Gram. § 275, 1. — λαβόντα. In the preceding sentence we have the dat. λαβόντι where it stands in immediate connection with Κλεόρχῳ the object of παραγγέλλει. Here λαβόντα being removed from the personal object Ξενίῳ is connected more intimately with ἤκειν, and is in the accus. because the infin. regularly takes its subject in that case. See Gram. § 307, 2. Many instances of this kind where an adjunct stands in the accus. instead of dat. or gen. will be noticed in the Anab.

§ 2. ὑποσχόμενος: *having promised*. Cyrus had taken great pains to inspire confidence in his promises as we learn from 1, 9, 7. — εἰ καλῶς . . . ἐστρατεύετο: *if he should succeed well in those things for which he was making an expedition*. The antecedent of εἰ (which would be ταῦτα) is not expressed. — παύσασθαι is dependent on ὑποσχόμενος. The infin. future commonly follows verbs of promising and hoping. For instances of the present or aorist with these verbs, see 2, 3, 20; 6, 3, 17; 7, 6, 38; 7, 7, 31. For the difference in meaning between the present, future, and aorist with these verbs, see Gram. § 257, 2, Rem. 2. — πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν: cf. note 1, 1, 10. — παρήσαν εἰς: a verb of rest followed by an expression denoting motion. παρήσαν, *they were present*, directs the mind more to the completion of the march and the arrival at the place of destination. Hence we may translate, *they arrived at Sardis*. Cf. 7, 2, 5; 7, 4, 6.

§ 3. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ: *Xenias accordingly*, i. e. in accordance with the orders mentioned above in § 1. — ὅπλιντας is in apposition with τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων = τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. Cf. note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως 1, 1, 5. — ὥς, *about*; very common with numerals. — ἦν is predicated of οὗτος and is understood with ὁ Σικεράτης; see Gram. § 242, 1, (b). — τῶν . . . στρατευομένων: partitive gen. depending on ἦν. Gram. § 273, 3, (a): *were of those (or among those) who were engaged in military operations* etc.

§ 4. μείζονα agrees with παρασκευήν: *having thought the preparation to be greater than as if against the Pisidians*, i. e. *having thought the preparation to be too great to be destined merely against the Pisidians*. — ὥς βασι-

*ἀπὸ*: to the king; *ἐκ* as a preposition used only before the names of persons.

§ 5. *οὕτως*, accordingly. Cf. § 3, above. — *ἀπὸ*, from; in this sense only with the genitive and commonly denoting communication from; *ἀπὸ*, from (a place); *ἐκ*, from, implying out of. — *Σάρδεων*. Sardis was the ancient capital of Lydia, and the residence of Cyrus as governor of Lesser Asia. As we learn from Herodotus 5, 52, it was connected with Nineveh, Babylon, and Susa by a well-constructed road, on which traveled a regular post; and that too as early as the time of the old Assyrian empire. This road passed through the central and more level regions of Asia Minor, and reached the Euphrates at Melite. From this road, another equally ancient and as much traveled ran from the high plains of Phrygia in a S. E. direction, starting at Caystrupedion, passing along the northern side of the Taurus range, and crossing the Cilician pass into Syria. This would have been the shortest and most convenient route for Cyrus in the prosecution of his actual design; but having given out as the object of his military preparations an expedition against the Pisidians, he chose at first a still more southerly route which led him to Celaenae, the ancient capital of Phrygia. — *σταθμός* properly means the place where one stops after a day's march; then also as here the day's march itself. — *παρασάγγης*: a Persian measure of length equal to 30 stadia, somewhat more than an English league.

§ 6. *οἰκουμένην*: well inhabited, populous. — *ἦκε* though imperf. in form seems to be used as an aorist. The verbs which in the present have a perf. signification (as is the case with *ἦκε*) often have the imperf. in the sense of the aorist (Krüg.). — Menon as we learn from 2, 6, 28. had received the command of his forces from Aristippus, who was mentioned also in 1, 1, 10. — *ἦκε . . . ἔχων*: lit. *came having*, may more conveniently be rendered *came with*. So also *ἔγων, φέρων, λαβών*, may often in connections like this be translated *with*. — The Dolopians and Aenianians were Thessalian tribes. Olynthus was the principal city of the Chalcidion peninsula in Thrace.

§ 7. *σταθμούς τρεῖς*: the direction of the marches, as will be seen by a reference to the map, had now changed from S. E. to E.; *σταθμούς* is accus. of cognate meaning after *ἐξελαύνει*. See Gram. § 278, 1 and 2. — *δηρίων* depends on *πλήρης*. Gram. § 273, 5, (b). — *ἀπὸ ἵππου*: so in Latin *ex equo*; lit. *from a horse*, because the attention of the hunter is directed from the horse towards the game. We say in the English idiom *on horse-back*. So also *αἱ πηγαὶ εἰς ἐκ*, the sources are out of, while in English we say the sources are in. — *διὰ . . . παραδείσου*: through the midst of the park. For the manner in which the meaning of *μέσσω* is affected by its position with respect to the article, see Gram. § 245, Rem. 5.



— *εἰς* *ἐκ*: prepositions or adverbs which denote motion are not unfrequently joined with *εἶναι*. Cf. 1, 7, 6; 2, 4, 13 and 15.

§ 8. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ . . . βασιλεία*: and there is also a palace of the great king; i. e. in addition to the palace and park of Cyrus, as mentioned just above.

— *τοῦ Μαρσίου*. Herod. 7, 26. calls this river *Καταρρήκτης* (the *dashing and roaring stream*), translating the name into Greek. It is only a small stream, which after a short course empties into the Maeander. — *ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος*: and this also flows etc., i. e. this as well as the Maeander. — *τὸ εὖρος*: the full construction would be *τὸ εὖρος ἐστὶν εὖρος εἰκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν* (Krüg.). — *ἐρίσονται οἱ*: the dat. *οἱ* being an enclitic is at once distinguished from the relative *οἷ* which is always an oxytone, and from the article *οἱ* which is a proclitic. For its meaning, see note 1, 1, 8.

— *περὶ σοφίας*: respecting skill, sc. in music. — *θθεν* = *ἐξ οὗ*.  
 § 9. *τῇ μάχῃ*: in the battle, i. e. in the well known battle at Salamis. For the use of the article here, see Gram. § 244. — *ἡττηθείς*: having been defeated. *ἡττῶμαι* is ordinarily used, as here, instead of the passive form of *νικάω*. — *Θράκας* and *Κρήτας* are used adjectively. Cf. note 3, 4, 26. The Cretan archers were celebrated; and hence were often employed as mercenaries. — *Σοφαίνερος*: inasmuch as his arrival was mentioned in § 3. above, it leads to the conjecture that a wrong name has been introduced either here or in § 3. Probably the name *Κλεάνωρ* or *Ἄγλις* should stand in one of these places, as *Sophaenetus*, *Cleanor*, and *Aglas* were the three Arcadian generals. Cf. 2, 5, 31, and 37. — *καὶ ἐγένοντο*: and they amounted to etc. — *ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισχιλίους*: about the entire number of two thousand. The article is often thus used with general statements of number. See Gram. § 246, 9.

§ 10. *ἐντεῦθεν*. To make an attack on the Pisidians, Cyrus would need to march towards the S. E.; but as he really contemplated no such attack, and as a direct march to *Caystrupedion* or *Tyriaeum* would disclose his actual intentions, he turns back in nearly the opposite direction till he reaches the Mysian frontier. The reasons for this are not mentioned by Xen., as he passes rapidly over this portion of his narrative. — *τὰ Λύκαια ἑθυσσε*: celebrated with sacrifices the Lycæan festival—an Arcadian festival in honor of Pan, the Arcadian Zeus. *ἔνυ* here takes an accus. of cognate meaning. — *στλεγγίδες*. Boeckh (in the *Staatshaush.* d. Ath. 11. 330.) suggests that these may have been ornaments for the head, perhaps in the form of a comb; and this suggestion is now generally received among scholars. — *Κεραμῶν ἀγορά*. This is the only mention made of this place. It may afterwards among the Greeks and Romans have had another name. It is probable that it occupied the site of the modern city *Ushak*, on the great military road from *Smyrna* to the east. See map. — *ἐσχάτην πρὸς*, bordering on.

§ 11. *ἐντεύθεν*. From this point he ventures to proceed more directly eastward. — *πῶλον* is in apposition with *Καθάρου πεδίον*, which like *Κερκυρῶν ἀγορὰ* has the force of one compound word. — *ᾠφείλετο*, *was due*. — *πλέον*: one would expect here *πλέων* which would also be grammatical; but the adverbs *πλέον*, *μείον*, and *ἕλαττον* are often joined thus to a substantive. Cf. 8, 2, 34; 4, 7, 9, and 10. — *ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας*: *to his doors*, i. e. to the doors of Cyrus. — *ἀπήτουν*: *they demanded it as something due*. Such is the ordinary meaning of *ἀπαιτεῖν*, as distinguished from *αἰτεῖν* which means simply *to demand*. So in like manner *ἀποδιδόναι*, *to give something which is due*. Cf. also *ἀποθῆναι* 3, 2, 12. — *ἐλπιδας λέγων διήγε*: lit. *he continued expressing hopes*, i. e. *he continued to solace them with hopes*. — *δῆλος ἦν*: lit. *he was plain being troubled*. In English we should say, *he was plainly troubled*; or, *it was plain that he was troubled*. The personal instead of the impersonal construction with *δῆλος*, *φανερὸς*, and words of similar meaning is very common. Gram. § 310, Rem. 3. — *πρὸς τοῦ Κ. τρόπου*: *in keeping with the character of Cyrus*. — *ἔχοντα* agrees with the implied subject of *ἀποδιδόναι*. Cf. note on *λαβόντα* § 1 above. — Notice the clear distinction in this sentence between *οὐ* and *μή*, the former as the objective, the latter as the subjective negative.

§ 12. *ὁ δ' οὖν* introduces a fact as opposed to a mere report or supposition. *Certain it is however that he then gave etc.* Cf. 1, 3, 5. — *φύλακας* is from *φύλαξ*, *a guard* (spoken of a single person); *φυλακὰς* in 1, 1, 6. is from *φυλακή*, *a guard, a garrison* (collective). Krüg. reads *φυλακὴν* in this place. — *Ἀσπενδίους*: from *Aspendus*, a city on the Eurymedon in Pamphylia. — *συγγενέσθαι*, spoken here of improper intercourse.

§ 13. *παρά*, *near*. Cf. 3, 4, 9. For the syntax of this preposition, see Gr. § 297. — *καλουμένη*, *so called*. In later writers *οὕτω* was expressed for this idea with this participle. — *τὸν Σάτυρον*, *the Satyr*, i. e. *Silenus*. The fountain here spoken of is now called by the Turkish name *Olu Bunar*, i. e. *great fountain*. It is identified by its situation in a narrow pass between the mountains and Lake *Akschehr*.

§ 14. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων* and *τῶν βαρβάρων* limit *ἐξέτασιν*; they are thrown to the end of the sentence to give them a more emphatic position.

§ 15. *ὡς νόμος (ἦν) αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην*: *so. τάσσεσθαι* suggested by *ταχθῆναι*. — *ταχθῆναι* and *στῆναι* have for their subject *τοὺς Ἕλληνας* and depend on *ἐκέλευσε*. — *ἔκαστον*, *so. στρατηγόν*, the subject of *συντάξει* and likewise dependent on *ἐκέλευσε*. — *ἐπὶ τεττάρων*, *four deep*. Cf. note 5, 2, 6. — *οἱ ἐκεῖνον* = *οἱ αὐτοῦ* with the exception that the former is more emphatic. *ἐκεῖνος* (which in distinction from *οὗτος* denotes an object more remote) not unfrequently as here refers to an object just mentioned. Cf. 1, 3, 1; 2, 6, 19.

16. *παρελαύνω*, *I pass along*, is predicated either of a person riding

or of one on foot, as may be seen from this section. — κατ' ἑλίας, *in companies of horse*; κατὰ τάξεις, *in companies of foot*. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας, *sc. ἐθεώρει*. — ἄρμα, *a war-chariot*; ἄρμαμαξα, *a covered carriage used especially for women and children*; ἑμαξα, *a heavy wagon for carrying loads*. — χιτῶνας: for a full description of this garment see Dic. Antiq. art. Tunica. — After ἀσπίδας the best manuscripts have ἐκκεκαλυμμένας, *covered*, instead of ἐκκεκαθαυμένας, *burnished*, the word which stands in many editions. That the shield had commonly a covering (σάγμα) seems not to admit of a doubt.

§ 17. μέσης: cf. note 1, 2, 7. — προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα: *to hold out before them their armor*, i. e. to hold their shields before them as if for defence, and their spears as if for an attack. — φάλαγγα is the subject of ἐπιχωρήσαι. — ἐσάλπιγξε, *the trumpet sounded*; ὁ σαλπικτής is comm. suggested as being understood; so in 3, 4, 36, with ἐκήρυξε the corresponding noun κήρυξ is suggested. — ἐκ τούτου, *upon this, hereupon*, — a very frequent expression in the Anab. — προϊόντων: gen. abs., *sc. τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. — ὅτι τοῦ αὐτομάτου, *of their own accord*. — ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς, *towards the tents*, i. e. of the barbarians. So it is usually understood; and the clause of Ἕλληνες . . . ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον in § 18 is interpreted as meaning *the Greeks went back to their (own) tents* etc. Krüg. on the other hand understands ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς in both places to mean the tents of the Greeks.

§ 18. φόβος, *sc. ἦν*. The omission of ἦν is much more unusual than of ἐστὶ. — καὶ . . . καὶ . . . τε . . . καὶ. It is not easy to translate all of these connectives. *And there was much fear both to others of the barbarians and particularly (καὶ) both the Cilician women fled . . . and those who were of the market-place etc.* — ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς ἄρμαμαξῆς, *fled from her chariot*, because (says Hert.) she forgot in her haste and confusion that she could flee faster in her chariot than on foot; or as Matt. supposes, because her chariot was drawn by oxen or mules and hence she could actually flee faster on foot. Krüg. and others with less propriety interpret the phrase differently. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: another instance of brachyology for οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Cf. note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως 1, 1, 5, and τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων 1, 2, 3. — τὸν . . . φόβον. That which intervenes between the article and noun is commonly of the nature of an adjective. *Lit. the from the Greeks into the barbarians fear*; i. e. *the fear with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians*.

§ 19. Iconium was the chief city of Lycaonia in the Macedonian and Roman times. Lycaonia in the time of Xen. was limited to the northern slope of Taurus, and the plain at the foot of this mountain range. The inhabitants having possession of certain strongholds refused submission to the Persians. This doubtless was the excuse of Cyrus for giving the

country up to indiscriminate plunder. Xen. alludes to the Lycaonians again in 3, 2, 23. — *οδον* agrees with *χώραν*.

§ 20. *Ἐντείδεν*. From Iconium he had marched through Lycaonia thirty parasangs, probably continuing in a S. E. direction. This would bring him near the city Laranda, from which a steep mountain path leads directly (*τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν*) to Tarsus. But as this path was not sufficiently safe for the whole army, it was necessary to proceed in a N. E. direction, so as to reach the main road from Cappadocia to Cilicia. This road led from Mazaca southward through Tyana (here called Dana), whose ruins under the name of Kilissa Hissar are yet conspicuous. — *αὐτόν*, i. e. Menon. — *ἐν φ*, in which time. — *φοινικιστήν*: this is commonly thought to mean *purpuratum*, a courtier of such rank that he was entitled to wear purple. But with this meaning, as Krüg. suggests *βασιλείον* would seem out of place. Hence with much plausibility he translates it *purple-dyer*. This may have been at the Persian court an important office. — *καὶ . . . δυνάστην*: and a certain other person, a chief man of the under-officers. — *αἰτιασάμενος*, sc. *αὐτοῦς*.

§ 21. *ἡ εἰσβολή*, the entrance. This was the so-called *Κιλικία πόλαι*, which Alexander the Great found equally unguarded. (Arrian. Anab. II. 4, 4.) It is a narrow way artificially cut from the rock, in a natural ravine through which runs the river Sarus. — *καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν* = *ἦν ἀμήχανον εἰσελθεῖν*, which it was impracticable to enter etc. Cf. note on *δῆλος* ἦν 1, 2, 11. — *δι' ὃ ἔμεινεν*: wherefore he remained. Κύρος the principal subject of the narrative is readily supplied with *ἔμεινεν*. — *ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ*. This plain is directly north of the pass, and even in the Roman times still bore the name *τὸ Κύρου στρατόπεδον*, *Cyri castra*. — *τῇ ὀστεραίᾳ*, sc. *ἡμέρᾳ*. — *λελοιπὸς εἶη*: a circumlocution for the pluperf. optat. For the *oratio obliqua*, see Gram. § 345. — *ἦν* instead of *εἶη*, — the indic. denoting more distinctly than the optat. a definite fact. For the interchange of the indic. and optat. in the *oratio obliqua*, see Gram. § 345, Rem. 5. Cf. also note 2, 2, 15. — *ὅτι* after *ἦσθετο* is declarative, after *καὶ* it is causal, and is connected logically, not with *ἦσθετο*, but with *λελοιπὸς εἶη*. — *τρίηρης* is the object of *ἔχοντα*: because he heard that Tamos had galleys etc. For the accus. and particip. (*Ταμὸν ἔχοντα*) instead of the accus. and infin. see Gram. § 310, 4. — *τάς* and the words following it qualify *τρίηρης*.

§ 22. *οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος*: gen. abs. — *οὐδ*, a relative adv., where. — *ἐφύλαττον*, had kept guard. Cf. note on *ἐτόγγχανεν ἔχων*, 1, 1, 8. — *σύμπλεων*, an adj. qualifying *πεδίον*, being of the Attic 2d declens. — *αὐτό*, i. e. *τὸ πεδίον*.

§ 23. *σταθμοὺς τέτταρας*. Xen. has here by mistake predicated the whole distance from Dana to Tarsus of the short space from the pass to

Tarsus. See Introduc. § 7. — *Tarsoi* and *'Iossoi* are unusual forms; in other writers, always *Tarsois*, and *'Iossois*. — *ἦσαν* is here used with the neut. plur. Several other instances of the same kind occur in the *Anab.*, e. g. in 1, 4, 4; 1, 4, 10; 1, 5, 1. et al. — *ὄνομα*, accus. synec.; so also *ἔδρος*. — *πλήθρων* depends on *ποταμός*.

§ 24. *ἐξέλιπον εἰς*: an abbreviated expression for *ἐκλιπόντες ἐφάργον εἰς*, *abandoned and fled to* etc. *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη* also implies a verb of motion.

§ 25. *ὁρῶν*. Xen. uses also the uncontracted form *ὁρέων*. Cf. 1, 2, 21; 8, 4, 19; 8, 5, 17. — *τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον*. The construction implies the idea of motion, *the mountains (extending) into the plain*. — *οἱ μὲν*: one would expect here *καὶ οἱ μὲν* or *ὅς οἱ μὲν*. Similar instances of asyndeton (Gram. § 325.) occur 2, 1, 6; 2, 3, 24. — *ἀρπάζοντας* agrees with the subject of *κατακοπῆναι, αὐτούς* understood. — *εἰτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι*, *after that* (i. e. after being unable to find the rest of the army ~~on~~ the roads) *perished in wandering*. — *δ' οὖν*: cf. note § 12. — After *ἐκαστὸν*, Krüg. and Küh. introduce *ἑκαστος, a hundred heavy-armed men (to) each* (company). Hert. in a note approves of this reading.

§ 26. *πρὸς ἑαυτόν*, (to come) *to himself*. — *κρείττωνι*, *more powerful*. — *οὐδενὶ πω . . . εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν*, *that he had never yet gone into the power of any one* etc. For another meaning of *εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι*, cf. 4, 7, 15. — *Κόρυς* (sc. *εἰς χεῖρας*) *ἵεναι*. — *πίστεις* = *πιστά* in 1, 6, 7. — *ἔλαβε*, sc. *Συνέκτισις*.

§ 27. *Κύρος δέ*, sc. *ἔδωκε*. In Greek as in Latin, a verb belonging to several ideas is often expressed with the first and understood with the others. — *τὴν χώραν . . . ἀρπάζεσθαι* depends on *ἔδωκε*; so also *ἀπολαμβάνειν* with its object *τὰ . . . ἀνδράποδα*: lit. *Cyrus gave to him that his country should no longer be plundered* etc. — *ἣν ποῦ ἐντυγχάνουσιν*, *if they* (i. e. Syennesis and the Cilicians) *should any where meet with* (them, i. e. the slaves). The general rule would require the optative. Gram. § 327. 2. For the subjunct. here, cf. note 1, 3, 14, *ἐὰν μὴ διδῷ*.

### CHAP. III.

The Greeks refuse to proceed farther, suspecting the real object of the expedition; but on being assured that Cyrus was leading them against Abrocamas, who was somewhere on the Euphrates, and with the promise of higher pay, they consent to resume the march. Clearchus is the principal agent in bringing about this result.

§ 1. *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵεναι*, *negabant se ituros esse*, *denied that they would go*, or more simply, *refused to go*. *ἵεναι* in the indic. infin. and particip. is often future in meaning. Gr. § 181. Rem. 5. — *τοῦ πρόσω* is of the nature of a partitive gen., (*a step*) *of the way forwards*, or simply *forwards*.

— οὐκ ἔφασαν, translate as above, *they denied*. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ, for *this purpose*, i. e. to go against the king. — πρῶτον, in *the first place*. Some editions have πρῶτος, and then we should render it *was the first who*. Compare in Latin the use of *primus* and *primum*. — ἐβιάζετο: the imperf. tense often denotes the beginning of an action, and hence the idea of *trying, attempting*. So here, *he tried to compel*. Cf. ἀνίστασαν 4, 5, 19. ἀνέσπελλον 5, 4, 23. — ἔβαλλον, *cast* (stones or other missiles) *at him*. τοῖς λίθοις is expressed with βάλλειν in 5, 7, 19.

§ 2. μικρόν, *a little*; is often as here best rendered by our word *scarcely*. — τὸ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι is grammatically the object of ἐξέφυγε: *he scarcely escaped that he should not be stoned to death*, or more simply, *he scarcely escaped being stoned to death*. For this use of μὴ with the infin. after verbs of hindering, abstaining etc. see Gr. § 318, 8. According to the English idiom, the negative would be omitted. — δυνήσεται. The general rule would require here δύνασθαι; but the direct form of discourse often takes the place of the indirect, even in the midst of a sentence. Gr. § 345, 5. — ἐδάκρυε . . . ἐστῶς, *standing he wept*, or in more idiomatic English, *he stood and wept*. ἐστῶς is perf. in form but present in meaning. Gr. § 193, Rem. 3. — εἰτα and ἔπειτα (without δέ) are often used as correlatives of πρῶτον μὲν or of some similar expression. Cf. 3, 2, 27; and in § 10 below τὸ μὲν μέγιστον . . . ἔπειτα. — τοιάδε, *such as follows*, denoting that the language of Clearchus is not reported with the utmost accuracy; τάδε, *as follows*, would denote more exactness in the report. The same distinction prevails between τοιαῦτα and ταῦτα referring to what precedes.

§ 3. ἄνδρες before the names of persons was the common mode of respectful address. — μή, like *ne* in Latin, always used in prohibitions, as something merely conceived by the mind. — φεύγοντα: cf. note 1, 1, 7. — οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον . . . ἐμοί, *I did not lay (them) up for my own private advantage*. — ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθήδυνάθησα, *nor did I even expend (them) for pleasure*.

§ 4. ἐτιμωρούμην, sc. αὐτούς. — μεθ' ὧν: for the difference between μετά with the gen. and σύν with the dat., see Gr. § 294. — βουλομένους agrees with αὐτούς. The participle denotes the notion of time, of cause, or of condition; and may often be conveniently rendered by a finite verb with one of the particles *when, because, or if*; so here, *while they wished*, or *because they wished*. — Ἕλληνας and γῆν both depend on ἀφαιρείσθαι. Gr. § 280. — εἰ τι δέοιτο, *if he should need any thing*. δέομαι takes for the most part only neuter pronouns, very seldom neuter adjectives, in the accus. — ἀπὸ' ἐν = ἀπὸ ταύτων ἔ: *in return for those things which I had experienced as favors* (ἐδ) etc., or more freely, *in return for the favors which I had received* etc.

§ 5. *προδόντα* agrees with the implied subject of *χρησθαι*. The dat. *προδόντι* agreeing with *μοι* would also be grammatical. Cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1. — *ὅ' σὺν*: cf. note 1, 2, 12. — *σὺν ὑμῖν . . . πεύσομαι*: *with you I will suffer whatever may be necessary*. *πεύσομαι* as future of *πάσχω* takes its object in the accus.; as fut. mid. of *πέθω*, in the dat. — *οὐποτε . . . οὐδέεις*. For two or more negatives in the same clause, see Gr. § 818, 6. — *Ἕλληνας* and *τοὺς Ἕλληνας*. The former is indefinite, implying *any Greeks*; the latter is definite, denoting *the Greeks* just referred to, i. e. those whom he may have led among the barbarians.

§ 6. *ἐμοὶ ἔπεισθαι*, *to follow me*; *σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι*, *I will follow in company with you*. *ἔπεισθαι* took the dat. alone, *σὺν* with the dat., *ἐμα* with the dat., or *μετά* with the gen., the specific idea being varied with each expression. — *ὅν εἶναι τίμιος*, *that I should be honorable*. For the nominative (*τίμιος*) with the infin., see Gr. § 307, 4. — *ὑμῶν ἔρημος ἔν*, *being bereft of you*. For the government of *ὑμῶν*, see Gr. § 271, 3. — *ὥς ἐμοῦ κ.τ.λ.*: gen. abs.; *as if I were about to go* etc. On the meaning of *ὥς*, cf. note 1, 1, 2., and on the fut. signification of *ἰδντος*, cf. note § 1. above. — *ὑμεῖς*, sc. *ἦτε*.

§ 7. *οἱ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου*, *both those of him himself*, i. e. *both his own*; *καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι*, *and the others*, i. e. *those of the other generals*. — *εἵτι* with its clause is explanatory of *ταῦτα*: *these things, that he refused* etc. — *πορεύεσθαι*, the pres. infin. used in lively narration instead of the fut. infin.; in the same way that *οὐ πορεύομαι* may be used instead of *οὐ πορεύσομαι*. — *οὐ φαῖη*: *oratio obliqua*. Gr. § 845, 4. — *ἐπήνεσαν*, sc. *αὐτόν*. — *παρά* in this section is used with the three oblique cases: *παρά* with the gen. (the “whence-case”) means, *from the side of*, or simply, *from*; with the dat. (the “where-case”), *by the side of*, or simply, *by*; with the accus. (the “whither-case”) *to the side of*, or simply, *to*.

§ 8. *τούτοις*, *by reason of these things*. Gr. § 285, 1, (1). Cf. 1, 5, 13. — *μετεπέμπετο*, *continued sending for*, the notion of continuance or repetition belonging to the imperf. tense. — *τῶν στρατιωτῶν* depends on *λάβω*. Gr. § 273, 5, (e). — *αὐτῷ* is dependent rather on *ἔλεγε* than on *πέμπων*, which as a verb of motion would take a preposition with the accus. Gr. § 284, 3, (1). — *ἔλεγε*, *he said*, not in person, but through the messenger; *λέγειν* and words of similar meaning are not unfrequently used in this way; *ἔλεγε* with *δαρπεῖν* may be rendered, *he bade him be of good courage*. — *ὥς . . . εἰς τὸ δεῖν*, *on the ground that these things would be settled seasonably*. — *μεταπέμπεσθαι*: cf. note on *μετεπέμπετο* above. — *ἐκέλευεν*: cf. note on *ἔλεγε* above.

§ 9. *τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ*: *those who had come to him*, i. e. from Xenias and Pasion. *αὐτῷ* depends on *προσελθόντας*. “Many verbs of motion compounded with the prepositions *εἰς*, *πρός*, *ἐπί*, etc., take their

object in the dative." Gr. § 284, 2, Rem. 2. — τὸν βουλόμενον, *the one who desired*, i. e. *any one who desired*, is limited by τῶν ἄλλων as gen. of the whole. — The rhetorical skill displayed in the following address deserves particular attention. — τὰ μὲν δὴ Κέρου κ.τ.λ., *it is plain that the relations of Cyrus towards us are just the same as ours towards him*, i. e. as we have ceased to sustain towards him the relation of soldiers in his employment, so he has ceased to sustain towards us the relation of paymaster.

§ 10. μεταπεπομένου αὐτοῦ: gen. aba. sc. με: *though he continues to send for me*. — τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, *chiefly*. The correlative clause is *ἔπειτα* instead of *ἔπειτα δέ*. Cf. note on εἶτα § 2 above. — πάντα ψευσμένους αὐτόν, *having deceived him in all things*. In § 5 above, we have another construction, πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσόμενον, *having been false to him*. — δεδιὼς μὴ, *fearing that*. After verbs of fearing, μὴ is translated like the Latin *ne*. — ὧν = τούτων δ, Gr. § 332, 6. The clause runs thus, *fearing that having taken me he may inflict punishment for those things in which he supposes etc.*

§ 11. καθεύδειν, *to sleep*, must here of course be understood figuratively. — ἡμῶν αὐτῶν: for the form, see Gr. § 88; dependent on ἀμελεῖν, Gr. § 274, 1, (b), *to neglect ourselves*. — δ, τι (or as some editors write δ τι) from *δοτός*, is the interrogative for an indirect question, as τίς τί is the interrogative for a direct question. — ἐκ τούτων, *in consequence of these things, in the present circumstances*; but ἐκ τούτων in § 13, means *hereupon*. — αὐτοῦ, *here*, an adv. — σκεπτόμενοι εἶναι, sc. ἡμῖν, *that we must consider etc.* For the construction of the verbal in τέος, see Gr. § 284, 3, (12). — ἄπιμεν, future. Cf. note § 1 above. — ὄφελος οὐδέν, sc. ἐστίν, *there is no profit either in general etc.*

§ 12. ὁ ἀνὴρ, i. e. Cyrus. — πολλοῦ depends on ἄξιος as gen. of price. Gr. § 275, 3, *worthy of much, valuable*. — ἐχθρός = *inimicus*: πολέμιος = *hostis*. — πάντες ὁμοίως, *all alike, all without exception*. — καὶ γὰρ, *since also*. — αὐτοῦ, gen. of the pers. pron. dependent on πόρρω. Gr. § 273, Rem. 4, (c). — ὥρα, sc. ἐστίν, *it is time*.

§ 13. ἐκ τούτου, *hereupon*; cf. note § 11. *After him* would be expressed by μετὰ τούτον; cf. § 14 below, and 3, 1, 45. — λέγοντες, *to say*; fut. act. particip. denoting purpose as in Latin. Gr. § 312, 4, (c). — ἐπ' ἐκείνου, *by him*, i. e. Clearchus. — οἷα (from οἶος), *of what nature*; *how great* would be expressed by ὅση (from ὅσος).

§ 14. εἰς δὲ δὴ. The three clauses οἱ μὲν, οἱ δέ, and εἰς δὲ δὴ are correlative, the last being made emphatic by δὴ; render them, *some . . . , others . . . , but one particularly . . .* — ἐλέσθαι depends on εἶπε, *proposed to choose*. — εἰ μὴ βούλεται for liveliness of narration instead of εἰ μὴ βούλοιντο. — ἡ δ' ἀγορά . . . στρατεύματι. This clause is not a part of the speech, but is thrown in by the narrator to show how absurd the speech



was. — *συσκευάζεσθαι* like *ἐλέσθαι* depends on *εἴπε*: so also the remaining infinitives in this section. — *ἐλθόντας* agrees with the implied subject of *αἰτεῖν*; and *that they having gone should demand* etc. — *ἐὰν μὴ διδῷ*. As the Greeks not unfrequently pass abruptly from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta*, so dependent clauses of the *oratio obliqua* often take the form of the *oratio recta*. Here the regular form of the *oratio obliqua* would be *εἰ μὴ διδοίη*. Cf. note 1, 4, 12. So also *ἀπῄξει* instead of *ἀπαγάγοι* on the same principle. — *τὴν ταχίστην*, sc. *ὁδόν*, in the *speediest* (manner). For the construction, see Gr. § 279, Rem. 8. — *προκαταληφθέντων*, *persons to preoccupy* etc., the object of *πέμψαι*. Cf. note on *λέγοντες* § 13. — *φθάσαι καταλαβόντες*, *may have anticipated us in having occupied* (them). For the construction of *φθάνω*, *τυγχάνω*, *λανθάνω*, etc., with a participle, see Gr. § 310, 4, (1). — *ὧν*, relating to *οἱ Κίλικες*, limits both *πολλοὺς* and *χρήματα*; with the former, it is a partitive gen. (or more properly gen. of the whole), with the latter, a gen. of possession. — *ἐχομεν ἡρπακότες*: a complete transition to the *oratio recta*, which was already indicated by using the subj. and indic. instead of the optat. just before. The particip. and verb, as often elsewhere, may here be rendered into English by two connected verbs: — *from whom we have taken and now possess many captives and much treasure*. — *τοσούτων*, *thus much*, i. e. *only thus much*, directing attention to the brevity of his speech.

§ 15. *ὥς . . . στρατηγίαν*, as if *I were about to take this command*; either the accus. or the gen. abs. may follow *ὥς* or *ὥσπερ*. Gr. § 312, 6. *στρατηγίαν* is accus. of kindred meaning after *στρατηγήσονται*. Gr. § 278, 1, 2. — *λεγέτω* takes as object, not *ἐμέ* alone, but the whole clause, *ὥς . . . στρατηγίαν*. It may be rendered, *let no one of you entertain an opinion as if* etc. With the meaning of *λεγέτω* here, cf. that of *λέγεις* 2, 1, 15. — *ἐμοὶ . . . ποιητέον*. For the construction of the verbal, see Gr. § 284, 3, (12). — *ὥς δέ*, sc. *ἕκαστος λεγέτω* suggested by *μηδεὶς λεγέτω*, *but let each one entertain the opinion that I* etc. — *τῷ ἀνδρὶ*: cf. note on *πέλομαι* 1, 3, 5. — *ὃν ἂν ἐλησθε*, *whom you shall have chosen*. *ἂν* with the aor. subjunct. has the meaning of a fut. perf. Gr. § 255, Rem. 9. — *ἢ δυνατόν μάλιστα*, lit. *in what way it is possible the most*, or more simply, *the most possible, most implicitly*. — *πέλομαι* stands by a change of construction for *πεισόμενον*, which would correspond to the construction of *στρατηγήσονται*. — *ὅτι καὶ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι*. It was universally admitted that he knew how to govern (*ἔρχειν*); hence the force of *καὶ* before *ἔρχεσθαι*: — *that I know how to be governed also*. — *μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων* is added to the foregoing expression for the sake of emphasis; lit. *as any other one also especially of men*, i. e. *as well as any other one among men*.

§ 16. *τοῦ . . . κελεύοντος*, of the person urging etc.; gen. limiting *ἐνθῆναι*. — *ὥσπερ . . . ποιούμενον*: gen. abs. cf. note § 15. Krüg. and

Hert. would omit the negative (μή) in this clause, and render it thus, *just as though Cyrus would make the expedition back again*, and so have no occasion to use the ships. This interpretation is rendered very probable by a comparison with 1, 4, 5. Matthiae expresses the same idea by omitting πάλιν. Kühner following Bornemann renders, *quasi retro Cyrus navigaturus non esset*,—an intelligible and possible interpretation, but less probable than the one above given. Others render πάλιν by *posthac*, which Käh. pronounces impossible. — ποιούμενου instead of ποιησομένου,—the lively Greek often conceiving of the future as already present. See Gr. § 255, Rem. 3. — παρά with the gen. ; cf. note 1, 2, 5. See also the construction of αἰτεῖν § 14. — φ̄ is attracted by its antecedent ἡγεμόνι from the accus. to the dat. See Gr. § 332, 6. For the force of ἄν with the pres. subjunct., see Gr. § 260, 3, (c). Cf. also note on ὃν ἂν ἔλθοιτε § 15. — τί . . . προκαταλαμβάνειν. Krüg. understands this passage thus, *what hinders that Cyrus (as he can work against us in other matters, so also) should give orders to occupy the heights before us* (for the purpose of intercepting us)? Hertlein more suitably to the connection understands it as ironical and intended to show the absurdity of asking ships or a guide from Cyrus : thus, *what hinders our urging Cyrus also to preoccupy the heights for us* (i. e. for our advantage) ?

§ 17. Ἔγω is not expressed unless there is some emphasis on it. — μή, *lest*, used after ὀκνοῖν as after a verb of fearing. — αὐταῖς ταῖς τριήρεσι, lit. *with the ships themselves*, i. e. as we sometimes say *ships and all*. For the government of τριήρεσι, see Gr. § 283, 2. — φ̄ : cf. note § 16. — ἄν with δόλη is omitted in some editions on the ground that the optat. with ἄν must be the principal clause of a conditional sentence, while here it stands in a relative clause. Yet instances of the kind before us seem to be well established (cf. 1, 5, 9), and the ἄν suggests here very pertinently an implied condition, thus—*whom he should give* (if indeed he should give one). — ὅθεν = ἐκείσε ὅθεν, *to a place from which*, the antecedent of a relative adverb like that of a relative pronoun being often omitted. — ἀγάγη and ἔσται instead of ἀγάγοι and εἴη. Cf. note on ἐὰν μὴ διδῶ § 14 above. — ἔκοντος Κύρου, gen. abs. ; ἰκών and ἔκων in the gen. abs. have the force of participles, ὄντος or ὄντων being very seldom expressed with them. A few passages also occur where ἐτοίμων stands absolutely without ὄντων (cf. 7, 8, 11). With these exceptions the omission of ὄν in the gen. abs. is rare and poetic. — λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθόν, lit. *to elude him in having gone away*, i. e. to go away without his notice.

§ 18. φλυαρίας : accus. plur. predicate of εἶναι ; *has esse nugas*. — τί . . . χρῆσθαι, *for what he wishes to employ us*. For τί in an indirect question instead of δ, τι, see Gr. § 344, Rem. 1. For the government of τί, see Gr. § 278, 4. — ᾗ, subjunct. pres. 3d pers. sing. — αἰεπερ =

τοιαύτην ὁλιανπερ, the antecedent being omitted and the relative being attracted to its case. The relative ὁλιανπερ would depend on χρῆσθαι as an accus. of cognate meaning, the Greek being able to say (according to Krüger) πᾶξιν χρῆσθαι, as he would say χρῆσιν χρῆσθαι. We should render, *similar to that in which he formerly also employed the mercenaries.* For the allusion, cf. 1, 1, 2. — τοῦτω, i. e. Κόρυ, depends on σὺν in composition.

§ 19. τῆς πρόσθεν, sc. πράξεως, depends on the comparatives which follow. πρόσθεν has here the construction of an adjective. Adverbs are often thus used in Greek. Gr. § 262, d. — ἀξιούν and below ἀπαγγεῖλαι and βουλευέσθαι with its subject accus. depend on δοκεῖ § 18. — ἡ . . . ἡ: *either that he having persuaded should lead us or etc.*, dependent on ἀξιούν. The Greeks would probably be persuaded not so much by arguments as by higher pay (δάρους καὶ χρήμασιν) Cyp. 1, 5, 3. — πρὸς φίλων, in a friendly manner. Cf. πρὸς ὀργήν, in an angry manner, and πρὸς ἡδονήν, in a flattering manner. Thucyd. 2, 65. — ἀφιέναι, dismiss, let go. — φίλοι, an adjunct. agreeing with the subject of ἐποίμεθα; in following, *we should follow friendly to him etc.*

§ 20. ἔδοξε ταῦτα: notice the asyndeton (omission of the connective). Cf. 3, 2, 89; 3, 3, 20; 4, 2, 19; 4, 4, 6. Similar instances, when the verb stands first and the demonstrative follows, are numerous. — τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ: lit. *the things which seemed good for the army*, i. e. *what had been resolved on for the army.* — ὅτι ἀκούει κ.τ.λ. Cyrus here discloses a part of the truth, that the Greeks might be led to conjecture the rest, and thus by degrees become familiar with the project of marching against the king. Abrocamas is mentioned again in 1, 7, 12. — τὴν δίκην, the merited punishment. Cf. 2, 5, 38, and 41.

§ 21. οἱ αἰρετοί, those who were chosen. Cf. ἐνδρας ἐλόμενοι κ.τ.λ. § 20. — ἔγει, used for vivacity of expression instead of ἔγοι. — προσαιτοῦσι. The preposition in composition signifies in addition, i. e. in addition to the pay which they had before received. — ἡμιόλιον . . . ὅδ: *a half more than that which etc.* ὅδ = τοῦτου δ, the relative depending on ἔφερον and the antecedent on ἡμιόλιον which has the force of a comparative. Gr. § 275, 2. Others take ὅδ = τοῦ μισθοῦ δν, instead of regarding it as a neuter pronoun used substantively. — τοῦ μηνός, monthly. Gr. § 273, 4, (b). — τῷ στρατιώτῃ, to the soldier, i. e. to each soldier. For the value of the Daric, see note 1, 1, 9. — ἐν γὰρ τῷ φανερώ, adverbial, *at least openly.* Cf. ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, 2, 5, 25.

## CHAP. IV.

The march from Tarsus to the Euphrates. Manner of passing the Pylae Syriae;—desertion of Xenias and Pasion;—conduct of Cyrus towards them;—arrival at Thapsacus on the Euphrates;—Cyrus discloses his real object;—dissatisfaction of the army;—at length, influenced by fresh promises and by the example of Menon, the whole army crosses the Euphrates.

§ 1. *Ψάρος* is written *Σάρος* in other Greek authors; it is now called Seihûn. The river Pyramus is now called Dschehân. The city Issus afterwards became celebrated as the scene of the great battle between Alexander and Darius III. — *οικουμένην*, *situated*. Cf. *ἀκείρω* 1, 4, 11; 4, 8, 22. It sometimes means *inhabited* (1, 2, 6.), in opposition to the idea *ἐρήμη*, *deserted*. Cf. 1, 5, 4; and 3, 4, 7.

§ 2. *αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες*: the clause *ἐκ Πελ.* has the position and force of an adjective. Gr. § 245, Rem. 3. The ships from Peloponnesus have already been mentioned 1, 2, 21. — *ἐπ' αὐταῖς*, *over them*, denoting command. Cf. in § 3. *ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν*, *upon the ships*, denoting situation only. — *ἡγεῖτο αὐτῶν*, *led them*, i. e. as commander in chief, while Pythagoras was subordinate in command, and admiral of the Peloponnesian ships only. After the death of Cyrus, this Tamos fled to Psammetichus king of Egypt and was there executed by order of the king. — *ἐξ Ἐφέσου* is to be connected with *ἡγεῖτο*, *conducted from Ephesus*. — *ἐπολιόρκει*, and *συνεπολέμει*: cf. note on *ἐπύγχανεν* 1, 1, 8. — *πρὸς αὐτόν*, *against him*, i. e. against Tissaphernes.

§ 3. *μετάπεμptos*: for the force of the verbal adjunct. in *-τος*, see Gr. § 234, 1, (i); cf. *αἰρετοί*, 1, 3, 21. — *Ἀβροκόμα*: gen. sing. 1st declens., see Gr. § 44, Rem. 2. This whole clause is a condensed expression, equivalent to *οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες παρ' Ἀβροκόμα ἀποστάντες*, the mercenary Greeks with *Abrocamas* having revolted from *Abrocamas* etc. Cf. note on *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως* 1, 1, 5.

§ 4. *ἐντεῦθεν*, *thence*, i. e. from the city Issi, or as commonly written Issus. — *πύλας κ.τ.λ.* Three mountain passes led into the Cilician plain: one over Mt. Taurus, through which Cyrus had already gone before reaching Tarsus; the other two, between Cilicia and Syria. Of these, the route nearest the sea, which Cyrus now chose (and which contained in reality two passes), was called the Syrian, and that farthest from the sea, the Amanic pass. *πύλας* stands here without the article, as is often the case with the names of places. — *ἦσαν . . . τεῖχη*, *and these were two walls*. Thus Xen. describes somewhat indefinitely the passes themselves, because they were fortified by two *τεῖχη*. Observe in this clause *ἦσαν* with the neut. plur. Gr. § 241, 4, (b). — *πρὸ*, *before*, *on the side of*. To

denote this idea *πρὸς* was more commonly used. — *διὰ μέσον*, *through the midst*. *μέσον* used substantively often stands without the article; cf. 1, 7, 6; 1, 8, 13. — *εὖρος πλεθρον*: the latter word depends on *ποταμός*, the former is acc. by synec. — *ἦσαν* agrees in number with the predicate. Cf. *ἦν* 6, 2, 10; and 7, 2, 32. — *οὐκ ἦν*, impera. *it was not possible*. — *ἡλιβατοι*: a poetic word. Cf. Introduction; latter part of § 3. — *ἔφεισθήκεσαν*: compounded of *ἐπί* and *ἵστημι*. Recollect that *ἵστημι* is intrans. in the perf. pluperf. and 2d aor. act., and that the perf. and pluperf. act. are pres. and imperf. in meaning. — This section may be better understood by the following diagram.



§ 5. *ἀποβιβάσειεν*: from *ἀποβιβάζω*, a transitive verb, to be carefully distinguished from *ἀποβαίνω* (intrans.): *that he might land heavy-armed men* etc. — *εἴσω*, *within*, i. e. between the two walls or fortresses; *ἔξω*, *without*, i. e. on the Syrian side; *πυλῶν* limits both *εἴσω* and *ἔξω*. See Gr. § 273, 3, (c). — *καὶ βιασάμενοι κ.τ.λ.*, *and that they* (i. e. Cyrus and his army) *having forced the enemy* etc. For a similar change of subject in two succeeding clauses, from the commander alone to the commander with his troops, cf. § 19. — *φυλάττοιεν*, sc. *οἱ πολέμοι*. — *ὅπερ*, *which very thing*, i. e. the keeping guard at the Syrian pass. — *ἔχοντα*: the participle denotes the various ideas of time, cause, and condition. Here the notion of cause seems most prominent, *because he had a large army*. — *οὐ* instead of its usual position (immediately before the verb) here stands before *τοῦτο*, thus anticipating more distinctly the following antithesis. — *Κύρον . . . ὄντα*, *that Cyrus was* etc. For the accus. and particip. instead of the accus. and infin. see Gr. § 310, 4.

§ 6. *Μυριανδον*. Hertlein, apparently following Kiepert, gives this as the true form of the word for the time of Xenophon, instead of the later form *Μυριανδρον*, which is found in most editions. — *ἦν*. Xen. might have written *ἐστὶ*, *the place is a commercial factory*, for the language was still true when he wrote the account; but the past tense is not unfrequently introduced thus instead of the present in a narration. Cf. *ἐνόμιζον* 1, 4, 9. *ἐχώρει* 1, 5, 6, and *ἦν* 1, 4, 1. — *ὀλκᾶδες*. For an account of the different kinds of ships, see Dic. Antiqq. art. *navia*. — *ὄρμουν*: from *ὀρμέω*, to be carefully distinguished from *ὀρμάω*.

§ 7. *ὥς . . . ἐδόκουν*, as they seemed to the most; the personal, instead of the more usual impersonal construction. — *φιλοτιμηθέντες*, being jealous. The allusion is explained in 1, 3, 7. — *τοὺς στρατιώτας* is the object of *ἔχειν*: because Cyrus allowed Clearchus to retain etc. — Observe the important force of *τοὺς* before *παρὰ Κλέαρχον*: their soldiers, those who had gone to Clearchus. Without *τοὺς* it would mean, their soldiers (implying all of them) after having gone away to Clearchus. — *ὥς*: cf. note 1, 1, 2. — *εἶα*: imperf. 3d pers. sing. of *ἔδω*, with the augment *ei-*. See Gr. § 122, 3. — *εὐχόμετο* as distinguished from *βούλομαι* and *θέλω* denotes an earnest desire. — *ὥς . . . ὕπτας*: cf. note on *ὥς* 1, 1, 2. — *ἀλώσουσιν*: observe that all the parts of this verb even those which are act. or mid. in form are pass. in meaning.

§ 8. *ἀλλ' . . . ὅτι*, but still let them at least know well that etc. *ἐπιστάθωσαν* from *ἐπίσταμαι*. — *ἀποδιδράσκω*, I escape by running away and eluding observation; *ἀποφεύγω*, I flee away so as to get beyond the power of any one. — *οἴχομαι*, as also *ἦκω*, is perf. in meaning, though pres. in form. Gr. § 255, Rem. 2. — *οὐδ' . . . οὐδεῖς*: a double negation which we can translate only by a single negative. Gr. § 318, 6. — *ὥς ἐγώ*, notice the emphasis on this last word. — *αὐτοὺς*, though in the plural, refers to *τὶς* as collective in meaning. — *ἰόντων*, let them (i. e. Xenias and Pasion) go. — *κακίους*, nominat. plur., qualifying the subject of *εἰσὶ*. — *καίτοι . . . γε . . . ἀλλ'*: although I have indeed . . . , yet etc. *γέ* renders *ἔχω* emphatic. — *Τρᾶλλεις*: Tralles was a city in Lydia. — *φρουρούμενα* refers to *τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας*, not as persons but as things. Gr. § 242. — *στερήσονται*: observe the anomaly in voice. See L. & Sc.

§ 9. *ἥδιον* and *προθυμότερον*: for the comparison of adverbs, see Gr. § 85. — *συνεπορεύοντο*, proceeded in company with (him, i. e. Cyrus). For the special force of the imperf. tense, see Gr. § 256, 2. — *Χάλος*: now called Kuweik. Lower in its course it flows through Haleb, the *Χαλυβών* of the ancients. The name *Χάλος* seems allied to the name *Χαλυβών*. — *πλήθρου* limits *ποταμόν*. Cf. *πλήθρων* 1, 2, 23. — *θεούς*. According to the Syrian legend, Semiramis was changed into a dove and her mother Derceto into a fish. Diodor. 2, 4, and 20. Hence these animals were held as sacred by the Syrians. The worship of fishes was especially prevalent in the neighboring city, sacred to Derceto, called by the Greeks *Ἱεράπολις*, by the Syrians Bambyce (so on the map), or Old-Nineveh (from *nin* i. e. fish). — *ἐνόμιζον* and *εἶον*: cf. note on *ἦν* § 6. — *εἶον*: cf. *εἶα* § 7. — *οὐδὲ τὰς περιστράς*, sc. *ἀδικεῖν εἶον*. — *εἰς ζώνην*: the tribute from different provinces in the Persian empire was often devoted to the supply of the various wants of the Persian queens. In like manner (as we learn from Thucyd. 1, 138.) the Persian king gave to Themistocles the province of Magnesia to supply him with bread, Lampascus, with wine, and Myus with vianda.

§ 10. *Δαράδαξ*. This river has not yet been identified in modern times. Its situation however can be determined pretty nearly by the distances given in the Anab., and this is farther confirmed by the site of the city afterwards called Barbalissus, by the Syrians, Bar-Bálasch (i. e. Geld of Bálasch = Belesys), now called Bália — *οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλῆθρον*: the full construction according to Krüger is *οὗ τὸ εὖρος ἐστὶ εὖρος πλῆθρον*, whose width is (that of) a hundred feet. — *τοῦ . . . ἑξάντος*, the one having governed Syria, i. e. the person who had been governor of Syria (up to the time when Cyrus arrived). — *αὐτὸν*, i. e. *παράδεισον*.

§ 11. *ἐν . . . ποταμὸν*: Hert. understands this to mean *along the river*, supposing Cyrus to have reached the Euphrates at the place called on the map Daradax, and from thence to have proceeded along in the neighborhood of the river without following its numerous windings. But the usual interpretation to the river seems to be a more natural expression of *ἐν τὸν . . . ποταμὸν*: and it would seem also that Cyrus first reached the Euphrates at Thapsacus, because the width of the river is first mentioned at that place. — *τεττάρων σταδίων* is pronounced by Kiepert to be a mistake either of the pen or of the memory for *τεττάρων πλῆθρον*. — *φικίτρο*: cf. note on *οἰκουμένην* 1, 4, 1. — *Θάψακος*: the name is derived from a Syriac word, signifying *ford*, or *ferry*. The ruins of the ancient city are near a ford of the Euphrates, a little above the present city Rakka, called in the Macedonian period Nicephorium. — *ὁνόματι*: the accus. *ὄνομα* is a more common construction. Cf. 1, 2, 23. — *βασιλέα*: cf. note on *βασίλεως* 1, 1, 5. — *ἀναπειθεῖν* differs from *πειθεῖν*, in implying that a previous opinion must first be refuted, or a previous determination checked, and then some other opinion or determination made to take its place. *πειθεῖν* means simply to persuade, *ἀναπειθεῖν*, to bring over by persuasion.

§ 12. *αὐτοὺς . . . κρύπτειν*: that they, knowing these things long before, concealed them. Contrary to the usual construction of the *verba declarandi*, *φημί* almost always takes the accus. and infin. instead of *ἔτι* or *ὥς* with a finite mood. — *οὐκ ἔφασαν*: cf. note 1, 3, 1. — *ἐὰν . . . διδῷ*, instead of *εἰ . . . διδοίη*. Cf. note on this same expression 1, 3, 14. — *ἐὰν μή*, unless. — *τίς*, some one. The reference is of course to Cyrus. — *ὥσπερ καί*, so. *ταῦτα ἐδόθη*, as also was given etc. For the allusion, see 1, 1, 2. — *καὶ ταῦτα*, and that too. *ταῦτα* may be explained here by understanding *ἐδόθη*, although the phrase *καὶ ταῦτα* often has the force of a conjunction. See Gr. § 812, Rem. 8. — *λόγων*, so. *αὐτῶν*, gen. abs. The dat. *λοῦσιν* agreeing with *τοῖς ποτ.* might have been expected. Cf. *προϊόντων* 1, 2, 17. and *ἐχόντων* 8, 1, 40.

§ 13. *δέσσειν*. The fut. infin. is the usual construction after verbs of hoping and promising; yet see *παύσασθαι* 1, 2, 2. *βουλεύσασθαι* 2, 3, 20.

— *μῶς*. For an account of the Grecian money, see Dic. Antiqq. art. nummus. — *ἦκουσι* and *καταστήσῃ*: cf. note on *ἔδαν* . . . διδῶ 1, 8, 14. — *τὸ πλεον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ*: lit. *the much of the Grecian force*, i. e. in an Eng. idiom, *the greater part of* etc. in distinction from Menon and his army. *πλεον* without *τό* would mean *much*, a *considerable part*, but not *the greater part*. — *πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι*, *before it was plain*. See Gr. § 387, 9, (c). — *τί ποιήσουσιν*. The form of a direct question, for liveliness of narration, instead of *ὅ, τι ποιήσεται*: and since it is directly dependent on this clause *ἔφονται* also has the form of the *oratio recta*. In translating we should more naturally employ the *oratio obliqua*,—*what the other soldiers would do, whether they would follow* etc.

§ 14. *προτιμήσεσθε*: mid. in form, but pass. in meaning,—*you shall be honored before the other* etc. *πλεον* though pleonastic, imparts additional force to *προ-* in composition. — *ὅμῳς χρῆναι διαβῆναι*, *that it is expedient for you to cross*. *ὅμῳς* is the subj. of *διαβῆναι*, *chrḗnai* is impera. and dependent on *φημί*. — *ἀποκρινοῦνται*. For the formation of the fut. in liquid verbs, see Gr. § 149.

§ 15. *ἂν . . . ψηφίσωνται*: lit. *for if they shall have voted*. *ἂν* with the subjunct. aor. is a dependent fut. perf. Gr. § 255, Rem. 9. We should commonly say simply, *for if they vote*. — *αἵτιοι*: an adjct. qualifying *ὅμῳς*: *you will seem to be a cause*, i. e. of their voting to follow. — *ἄρξεσθες*: the particip. denotes here most prominently the notion of cause, while the other ideas of time and of condition are also involved. We may render it, *because you began* etc. Cf. note on *ἔχοντα* § 5 above. — *χάριν εἶδέναι* and *ἀποδοῖδναι*: in Latin *gratiam habere* and *referre*: *to be grateful* and *to repay a favor*, or *to return thanks*. *εἰσεταί* is fut. of *οἶδα*. See Gr. § 195. — *εἰ τις καὶ ἕλλος*: cf. 1, 8, 15. — *ἀποψηφίσωνται*, sc. *ἔπεισθαι*. *ἀπο-*, *away, from*, has a privative or negative sense. — *ὅμῳν . . . εἰς*: *but you as if alone yielding he will employ (as) most faithful both for* etc. — *καὶ ἄλλου . . . Κύρου*: *and any other thing, whatever you shall need, I know that you will obtain from Cyrus as a friend*. Two methods of explaining the construction of *ἄλλου* are proposed. It may depend as gen. on *τεύξεσθε*, since *τυγχάνειν* can take two genitives (cf. 5, 7, 83), or it may be instead of *ἄλλο* by inverted attraction (in which the antecedent is attracted to the case of the relative). Gr. § 382, Rem. 11.

§ 16. *διαβεβηκότας*, sc. *αὐτοῦς*: *that they had crossed over*; accus. and particip. after a *verbum sentiendi*. — *εἰπεν*: cf. note on *ἔλεγε* 1, 8, 8. — *ἥδη . . . ἐπαυῶ*: *for the present I applaud you*; or, *for the present I thank you*. Cf. *ἐπαυῶ* 7, 7, 52. — *ἐπαυέσεται*: the fut. act. of *ἐπαύειν* is much less frequent than the fut. mid. — *ἤ . . . νομίζετε*: *or no longer think me (to be) Cyrus*. His generosity was well known.

§ 17. *οἱ στρατιῶται*: *the soldiers*, i. e. those of Menon. — *Μένωνι*:



to Menon, or for Menon; dat. commodi, limiting *πέμψαι*, but not as a verb of motion. To denote the person or place where the motion ends, after a verb expressing or implying motion, a preposition with the accus. is used. In § 16 τῇ σφαιρέματι limits *εἶπεν*, not *πέμψας*. The same principle is also familiar in Latin. — καὶ τῶν . . . οὐδείς: *and no one of those who were crossing the river etc.* Krüg. and Matt omit τῶν and understand αὐτῶν,—*and no one of them while crossing etc.* Hert. retains τῶν and also understands αὐτῶν, which seems inadmissible. The first interpretation presents no real difficulty.

§ 18. διαβατός . . . πεζῇ: *passable on foot, fordable.* For the meaning of the verbals in -τός, see Gr. § 234, 1, (i). — εἰ μὴ: *except*; used after negations. Cf. 1, 5, 6; 2, 1, 12; 4, 7, 5. — ἀλλὰ: *but only*; cf. 3, 2, 13. In this clause understand διαβατός: *but* (that it was passable only) *with boats.* — διαβῆ: another instance added to several that we have already noticed, in which the subjunct. stands instead of the optat. in a clause dependent on a past tense of the indic. See Gr. § 327<sup>a</sup>. 1, and 2. — τὸν ποταμὸν is the subject of ἐνοχλησάου and both together depend on ἐδόκει,—*that the river manifestly receded before Cyrus as if etc.* The statement of the Thapsacenes is considered by Grote as “a mere piece of flattery to Cyrus.” For other similar instances of oriental flattery, see Grote ch. 69, and note on this passage.

§ 19. Συρίας. This name, as also Aram in the Old Test., was given to the land both east and west of the Euphrates. It was not till the Roman period that the name was limited to the country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean; for it was not till after the Macedonian conquest that the name *Mesopotamia* became generally applied to the land between the Tigris and Euphrates. — Ἀράξης. This name, signifying “water-flowing,” was applied to several rivers in the Aramaean country. Here it is applied to the only tributary of the lower Euphrates, which in all other ancient writings is called Chabór (Χαβόρας or Ἀβόρρας). The Arabs now call it Chabúr. In the Roman period, the important frontier fortress Circesium stood here.

#### CHAP. V.

March on the left bank of the Euphrates to a point opposite Charmande.

Sufferings of the army in the desert;—dangerous quarrel of Clearchus and Menon, in which the Greeks generally become involved;—settled by the expostulation of Cyrus.

§ 1. Ἀραβίας. This is an ethnographic name given to the southern part of Mesopotamia, because this region, owing in part to the depth of the channel of the Euphrates, was nearly destitute of water and of vegetation;

and consequently was inhabited only by roving tribes of Arabs, as is also the case at the present day. — *ἐρήμους*, in a desert country. — *ἕπαν* is sometimes explained as qualifying *ὁμαλόν*; but in 4, 4, 1, it is used in the same sense as here and is necessarily an adjunct. So here it is more natural to consider it an adjunct qualifying *πεδίον*. In that region the earth was altogether a plain level as a sea. Cf. Thucyd. 6, 21. Herod. 1, 52. — *εἰ τις* and *εἰ τι* may often be best rendered *whoever*, *whatever*. So here:—and whatever else also there was in (this region) of brush or road etc. — *ἕπαντα* refers to *εἰ τι* as collective in meaning. Cf. *αὐτοῖς* 1, 4, 8. — *ἦσαν* agrees with a neuter plur. See Gr. § 241. Rem. 5. (b). Cf. 1, 2, 23. — *ἐνῆν*: sc. *τούτῃ τῷ τόπῳ*.

§ 2. *θνητὰ πάντα*, sc. *ἐνῆν*. — *διόκοι* and *πλησιάζουσιν*. The optat. is not unfrequently as here used in an iterative sense. Gr. § 827<sup>b</sup>, 2. — *προδραμόντες*, from *προτρέχω*. — *ἔσταςαν*: syncopated pluperf. 8d pers. plur.; used in the sense of the imperf. Gr. § 193. — *πολύ*: an adv. qualifying *δᾶττον*, *much swifter*. — *ταῦτ' ἔποιοιεν*, they did the same thing. For the form *ταῦτόν* instead of *τὸ αὐτό*, see Gr. § 92, Rem. 2. — *λαβεῖν*, sc. *αὐτοῖς*. — *δια*- in composition with *σπάντες* signifies *apart*, *at intervals*. — *διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις*: *relieving (one another) with their horses*. — *τοῖς ἐλαφείοις*, sc. *κρέασιν*, *the flesh of stags, venison*.

§ 3. *πολὺ γὰρ . . . φεύγουσα*: *for in fleeing it distanced* (the horsemen, *by far*). One would expect *φεύγων* instead of *φεύγουσα*, as in the phrase *στρουθοὶ οἱ μεγάλοι* just above, *στρουθός* is masculine; but the gender of this word in other writers also fluctuates as here. — *τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ . . . ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν* depend on *χρωμένη*,—*using the feet in running and the wings (by raising them up) just like a sail*. With *αἰρουσα* understand *τὰς πτέρυγας*. — *ἀνιστῇ* being in the present tense denotes the continuance or repetition of the action,—*if one start them up quickly and repeatedly*. — *ἔστι*, it is possible. For this accentuation, see Gr. § 85, 1. — *ἦν*: cf. note on *ἦν* 1, 4, 6.

§ 4. *πλεθριαῖον*. In this entire distance of five days' march only short, narrow, and except in the rainy season dry ravines are found; so that the language of Xen. is applicable only to a canal which is filled from the Euphrates, and is situated at about this distance from Chabôr. Together with the river it forms the large island Werdi, and on this Coraote must have stood. — *περιεπεῖτο κύκλῳ* must not be taken in too strict a sense. In 4, 7, 2. and in 7, 1, 14. *κύκλῳ* cannot mean entirely round: and Isocrates says of the Nile *κύκλῳ αὐτὴν* (Egypt) *περιέχων*. For the imperf. here, cf. note on *ἦν* 1, 4, 6. — *Μάσκα*: see Gr. § 44, Rem. 2.

§ 5. *Πόλας*. This was not a mountain pass like the *Πόλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας* (1, 4, 4.), but rather a gentle descent from the high desert region which they had just traversed to the well watered and fruitful

lowlands of Babylonia. Very likely also at this point a fortress may have been established, marking the boundary between two satrapies. — οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον : *nor any thing else even a tree.* — οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, *sc. ταῖς τῇ χερσὶ.* — ὕψος ἁλῆτας. The latter noun, grammatically in apposition with the former, is added to give it the specific meaning *mill-stone*. According to the grammarians, ὕψος denoted the upper and μέγας the lower mill-stone. It is also suggested that the upper mill-stone may have been called ὕψος from the fact that the ass was very commonly employed in turning it. — ἦγον, *sc. ὕψος ἁλῆτας.* — καὶ . . . ἔζον, *and subsisted by purchasing corn in return; sc. τῶν ὕψων ἁλῆτων; ἔζον : imperf. of ζῶν.*

§ 6. πρίασθαι : used only in the *aor.* ; referred to ἐντέμω as a present. — ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ ἀγορᾷ. We learn from Herod. 1, 155, and 157. that the elder Cyrus, after the conquest of Lydia forbade the use of arms to the inhabitants, and that henceforth they devoted their attention to trade. — ἐν τῷ . . . βαρβαρικῷ : τὸ βαρβαρικόν, *the barbarian (army)*, is used like τὸ Ἑλληνικόν 1, 4, 13. — τὴν καπὶθην : in apposition with σῶτον understood, the object of πρίασθαι. — τεττάρων σίγλων : *gen. of price. Gr. § 275, 3.* It will be perceived that σίγλος is the Greek form of the word shekel which occurs so often in the Old Testament. — ὀβολούς : object of δύνανται. *Gr. § 279, 6.* — Ἀττικοὺς agrees with the principal word ὀβολούς, although the more remote. The ὀβολός was one-sixth of a δραχμή, which was about one-sixth of an American dollar in value. How high the price here mentioned was, may be seen by a comparison with the prices at Athens. In the time of Socrates, four choenixes of peeled barley were worth one obolus. Boeckh, Staatshaush. d. Ath. 1. 102. By computation it will be seen that the price of corn in the army of Cyrus at this time compared with the price at Athens was as sixty to one. — With ἐσθλότες διεγύγνοντο compare λέγων διῆγε 1, 2, 11; διετέλουν χρομένοι 3, 4, 17.

§ 7. ἦν οὕς, *some*. So also we find ἔστιν or ἦν ὧν for the *gen.* ; ἔστιν or ἦν οἷς for the *dat.* In all these expressions the verb has merely the force of a prefix ; and the two words together equal, in the *gen.* ἐνίων, in the *dat.* ἐνίοις, in the *accus.* ἐνίοις. See *Gr. § 381, Rem. 4 ; ἦν οὕς* therefore taken together depend on ἤλαυνεν as *accus.* of cognate meaning. *Lit. some of these stages he marched very long ; i. e. some of these stages which he accomplished were very long.* — βούλοιο, another example of the iterative optative. Cf. δικάοι, πλησιάζοιεν, 1, 5, 2. — διατελέσαι, *sc. τὴν ὁδόν.* In 4, 5, 11. we find the expression διατελέσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. — καὶ οὕτως is often used to introduce that which is specially emphatic. *And what was worthy of special notice, on a certain occasion when etc.* — στενοχωρίας, *gen. abs.* The case absolute in Greek as in Latin is best translated by

one of the words, *when*, *because*, or *if*; according as the notion of *time*, *cause*, or *condition* is most prominent. For the gender and number of *φανέντος* see Gr. § 242. 1. (b). — τοῦ β. στρατοῦ, depends on λαβόντας, the gen. denoting *of a part of*. Gr. § 278, 8.

§ 8. συνεπισπεύσαι (comp. σὺν, ἐπί, σπεύδω); σὺν, *with*, often denotes assistance (cf. συνεβιδά(ειν sup.), *to assist in hastening on the wagons*. — ἦν, *impera, it was possible*. — κἀνθυσ, see Dic. Antiqq. art. Candya. — ἐτυχεν ἱστῆκός, *happened to be standing*. Cf. παρὸν ἐτόγγχεα, 1. 1. 2; ἱστῆκός, perf. in form, always pres. in meaning. — περὶ νίκης, *for victory*, in allusion to the Grecian games. — καὶ μάλα, *even very*, qualifying πρᾶνους. — ἀναγυρίδας, see Dic. Antiqq. art. Bracae. — ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ, *but some also*, sc. ἔχοντες. — σὺν τούτοις, *with these*, i. e. the costly tunics and embroidered trowsers. The Persians had adopted the rich and expensive dress of the Medes. — θάρτεον ἢ ὥς, *lit. sooner than as*; i. e. *sooner than*, the Eng. idiom not allowing us to translate ὥς, unless by an awkward transposition of the words, thus, *in a way sooner than*, etc. — τίς ἂν φερε, *one would suppose, crederes*. — μετεώρους, *raised aloft*; qualifies τὰς ἀμύξας.

§ 9. τὸ σὺμπαν, *lit. as to the whole*, i. e. *in general*. — ὥς after θήλός ἐστι (or ἦν) is unusual. Cf. θήλος ἦν ἀνιόμενος 1, 2, 11. and the note on that passage. — οὐ μὴ, *lit. where not*, i. e. (in an Eng. idiom) *except where he halted* etc. — ὅσῳ μὲν . . . τοσούτῳ, *quanto . . . tanto*, *lit. by how much . . . by so much*, i. e. (in the Eng. idiom) *the more . . . the more*. — ἔν with ἔλθοι, being in a dependent clause is contrary to the general rule, Gr. § 260, (4), (a): it suggests the condition *ei ἔλθοι*. — μαχεῖσθαι, fut. infin., dependent on νομίζων. — σχολαιότερον, sc. ἔλθοι. — συνιδεῖν is explained as synonymous with θήλη. *And to the person directing his attention towards it, the king's government was also (lit.) to discover being strong*, i. e. *was manifestly strong* etc. — καὶ τῇ διεσπᾶσθαι τ. θ., *and in the fact that the forces were wide apart*. — ἀσθενής qualifies ἀρχή. — διὰ ταχέως, adverbial, *quickly*. — ἐποίητο. The mood, but not the tense (ποιεῖται) of direct narration is here retained. This sentence gives a brief but striking description of the character of the Persian empire.

§ 10. πέραν, *on the other side of*, i. e. *on the west bank of the river*; the army having crossed over to the eastern side at Thapsacus. — διαβαίνοντες, sc. τὸν ποταμόν. — διφθέρας. Tanned sheep-skins, inflated and sewed together, are still used very commonly by the Kourds and Arabs in crossing the Tigris and Euphrates. — ἐπέμπλασαν from πέμπλημι. — συνέσπων (from συνάω), *they sewed them together*. — τὸ ὕδωρ, subject of ἄπτεσθαι, *so that the water should not touch* etc. ὥς before the infin. instead of ὅτε is frequent in Xen.; e. g. 1, 8, 10; 2, 3, 10; 2, 6, 9; for the negative μὴ instead of οὐ, see Gr. § 318. 8. (f). —

τῆς before ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος connects this phrase as an adjective to βαλάνου. As the Greeks were not familiar with the fruit of the palm tree (the date), they had no one word by which to express the idea; hence the circumlocution, ἡ βάλανος ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος, *the fruit of the palm tree*. Palm wine and the date are described more particularly 2, 3, 15 and 16. — τοῦτο refers indefinitely, without regard to gender, to μελίνης considered simply as a thing.

§ 11. ἀμφιλεξάντων τι (= περὶ τινος), *disputing about something*. — τῶν τε . . . καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, *both the soldiers of Menon and those of Clearchus*; gen. abs. with ἀμφιλεξάντων. — τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος, sc. στρατιώτην. It seems that the quarrel had originated between two single men belonging to these generals respectively, and that their other soldiers had by degrees been drawn into it. — πλεῖστας ἐνέβαλεν, sc. αὐτῷ, *inflicted blows (on him)*. — ἔλογεν, *related* (the affair).

§ 12. τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, lit. *those around him*, i. e. *his attendants*. — ἦκεν, imperf. in form, but aorist or pluperf. in meaning. Cf. note 1, 2, 6. If rendered as an imperf. here it would plainly contradict προσήλανε. — ἴησι τῇ ἀξίῳ: Suidas supposes an ellipsis of τὸν Κλεάρχον after ἴησι, and this suggestion has been generally followed; but it is somewhat doubtful. An ellipsis of the gen. would seem more natural. Cf. Soph. Aj. 154. τῶν ψυχῶν ἰεῖς. It is perhaps still better to consider the verb as intrans. Cf. L. & S. sub voce. τῇ ἀξίῳ, dat. of instrument. Lit. *he throws with his axe*; in the Eng. idiom, *he throws his axe*. — οὗτος the same as τις above. — αὐτοῦ, i. e. Clearchus. For the government, see Gr. § 271, 2. — ἕλλος, sc. ἴησι.

§ 13. παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα, sc. ἵνα. The elliptical expression corresponds to the idea of haste here involved. — τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα δέοντας, *placing their shields upon their knees*; thus signifying that they were ready for an attack. — τούτων, i. e. the horsemen. οἱ πλεῖστοι, sc. ἦσαν. — τοὺς Μένωνος. Cf. οἱ ἐκείνου, 1, 2, 15. — ἐκτεπλήχθαι (from ἐκπλήσσω), *were terrified*. — οἱ δὲ καὶ, *others also*; οἱ δὲ being used here as though οἱ μὲν had gone before. — ἔστασαν, see Gr. § 193.

§ 14. τάξιν κ.τ.λ., *a division of the heavy-armed men following him*, sc. ἔνυχε προσιοῦσα. The τάξιν, according to 6, 5, 11., consisted of 200 men. — οὖν indicates that the sentence, which had been broken off by the parenthetical clause ἔνυχε γάρ, κ.τ.λ., is here resumed. So in Latin igitur. Cf. 6, 6, 15. — ἀμφοτέρων, *of both parties*, i. e. Clearchus and Menon with their respective forces; dependent on τὸ μέσον used substantively. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα. For the three meanings of δέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, see L. & S. sub τίθημι IX. Here it means, *he halted*; while his soldiers laid their shields down before them and stuck their spears in the ground.

— αὐτοῦ . . . καταλευσθήνα, when he (i. e. Clearchus) wanted little of being exposed to death. — πρῶτος λέγοι, (sc. Μένων,) he spoke lightly etc. — αὐτοῦ refers back to the leading subject of the sentence ὁ δέ, i. e. Κλέαρχος.

§ 15. ἐν τούτῳ, sc. τῷ χρόνῳ. — τὰ παλὰ. The article is used because it is assumed as a fact well known that the παλὰ belonged to his ordinary armor. — ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν, with those who were present of his most faithful attendants; implying perhaps that part of them had not yet come up, being still on the march.

§ 16. οἱ ἄλλοι, in apposition with ὑμεῖς understood. Observe that the nom. is here connected by καί to the voc. Examples of this kind, when σέ, or ὑμεῖς is understood, are frequent. — κατακεκόψεσθαι: fut. perf., with pass. meaning. As it expresses the notion of finished action, the future event is conceived of as already having taken place; hence, as certain. — οὔτοι . . . βάρβαροι. A common noun with a demonstrative pronoun requires also the article before it. See Gr. § 246. 3. In this clause οὗς ὁρᾷτε expresses emphatically the idea of the article, and hence stands instead of it. — πολεμώτεροι, more hostile; perhaps (as Hertlein suggests), from envy because Cyrus had shown a preference for the Greeks. τῶν ἡμετέρων, our affairs; gen. abs. with ἐχόντων: compare with κακῶς ἐχόντων (being in a bad condition) εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν 1, 1, 5.

§ 17. ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο: lit. became in himself, which is very similar to the English expression by which this is to be rendered, came to himself. ἐν with the dat. as distinguished from εἰς with the accus. after a verb expressing or implying motion denotes the idea of remaining in. This is inferred from the notion of rest belonging to the dat. — κατὰ χώραν, in their respective places; κατὰ with the accus. often denoting the idea of distribution. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, laid aside their arms, encamped. Not used in precisely the same sense as above, § 14. Cf. note on that passage.

## CHAP. VI.

- Trial and condemnation of Orontes for conspiracy against Cyrus.

§ 1. Ἐντεῦθεν, cf. 1, 5, 5 and 10. — προϊόντων, while they were advancing; gen. abs. sc. αὐτῶν. — οὔτοι, i. e. οἱ ἰππεῖς implied in the foregoing. — εἴ τι, cf. εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, 1, 5, 1. — γένει, by birth. In 5, 2, 29, the same idea is expressed by τὸ γένος, accus. synec. — τὰ πολέμια limits more definitely the meaning of λεγόμενος. Gr. § 279, 7. — καὶ πρόσθεν πολέμησας, having even before been at war, i. e. with Cyrus. — καταλλαγὴς δέ. Hertlein and Krüger following Reiske puno-

tuate thus. With καταλλαγῆς, cf. συναλλαγέντι 1, 2, 1, and καταλῦσαι 1, 1, 10.

§ 2. τοὺς ἱππέας, the object of κατακάνοι; ἄν is expressed with this verb, because it would be required if the sentence were changed into the *oratio recta*. See Gr. § 345, 4; it is to be understood with the optatives which follow in this sentence; for, according to the principle laid down by Krüg. Spr. 69, 7, 4., when two or more verbs follow each other in the same grammatical construction, if ἄν is expressed with the first, it may be omitted with the rest, but must be supplied mentally. — κωλύσειε . . . ἐπιόντας, would restrain (them) in advancing from burning etc. The object of κωλύει is to be gathered from the first section, where it is expressed. For the government, see Gr. § 271, 2. — ποιήσειεν ὥστε; ποιεῖν is usually followed by the infin. alone. The intended result is expressed here more emphatically by using ὥστε. — ἰδόντας . . . διαγγεῖλαι, having seen the army of Cyrus to convey the tidings to the king. δια-, in comp. with ἀγγεῖλαι, signifying through, has reference to the intervening space. Cf. in Latin *internuntium esse*. See also διαγγελθῆ, 2, 3, 7.

§ 3. ὅτι, to the effect that, introduces the substance of the letter expressed in the *oratio obliqua*. — ὡς ἂν δ. πλείστον, as many as possible. δύνηται, subjunct. instead of optat. which the general rule would require. Gr. § 327<sup>a</sup>, 1 and 2. — ἐκέλευεν, sc. τὸν βασιλέα; φράσαι dependent on ἐκέλευεν and ὑποδέχασθαι on φράσαι. αὐτόν, him, i. e. Orontes.

§ 4. ἀναγνούς, having read; from ἀναγιγνώσκω. — ἐπὶ belongs to τοὺς ἄριστους. — δέσθαι τὰ ἔπλα: cf. note on 5, 14.

§ 5. ὅς γε. Since he especially. The relative here is causal, and the particle γέ makes it emphatic. — τοῖς ἄλλοις, to the others; i. e. both Greeks and Persians; all the others in distinction from Clearchus. — προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα; cf. 1, 4, 14. — τῶν Ἑλλήνων limits δς. — τὴν κρίσιν ὡς ἐγένετο, lit. the trial how it took place, i. e. how the trial was conducted; another instance of prolepsis or anticipation, cf. 1, 1, 5. — οὐ . . . ἀπόρρητον, not forbidden to be spoken of, i. e. not to be kept secret; ἀπόρρητον qualifies ἡ κρίσις, but refers to it indefinitely only as a thing; cf. τοῦτο, 1, 5, 10. — ἤρχην τοῦ λόγου, began the conversation, (in this case, the trial); ἤρχω λόγον, I begin a conversation (in which others are to participate); ἤρχομαι λόγον, I begin an address (which I myself am to continue). Cf. 3, 2, 7.

§ 6. ἄνδρες φίλοι; cf. ἄνδ. στρατιώται, 1, 3, 9; ἄνδρες was the common mode of respectful address. We have no one word so generally used. — πρὸς c. gen.; a common form of asseveration, more solemn than ἢ or μὰ with the accus. πρὸς θεῶν, in the presence of the gods, in the view of the gods. — τουτοῦ. For the demonstrative ( at the end of τοῦτον, see Gr. § 95, (ε). For the omission of the article, see Gr. § 246, Rem. 1.

(b). — *αὐτός*, always intensive in the nom. and in the oblique cases when in apposition with another pronoun or with a noun. — *ἐποίησα κ.τ.λ.*, lit. *I effected that it seemed good to him to cease* etc. — *δεξιάν*, *right-hand*, given in token of a solemn promise; hence by meton. *promise, pledge*.

§ 7. *μετὰ ταῦτα*; Cyrus here turns directly to Orontes. — *ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ*, *he replied, "no;"* *ὅτι* is often used as the sign of a direct quotation, where we use only quotation marks; *οὐ* = *οὐκ ἔστιν*. — *αὐτός*, see note § 6 sup. — *οὐδέν*, in *nothing*, accus. synec.; more emphatic than the simple negative *οὐκ*. — *ἀποστὰς εἰς*, an abbreviated, but common form of expression for *ἀποστὰς καὶ ἀπελθὼν εἰς*. — The Mysians like the Pisidians inhabited a mountainous country and maintained their independence against the Persians. Cf. 3, 2, 23 and 24. — *ἔ, τι ἐδύνω*, sc. *κακῶς ποιεῖν*, in *whatever you were able* (to do injury). — *ἔφη* = *ὡμολόγει*, *Orontes said, yes*. — *τὴν . . . δύναμιν*, *your own power* (i. e. as the connection implies), how insufficient it was. — *τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*; probably the Ephesian Artemis (Diana), a divinity quite distinct from the Grecian Artemis, and especially worshiped among the Persians, (Diodor. 5, 77.)

§ 8. *φανερὸς*, *manifest*; more conveniently translated as an adv. *openly* (*plotting against me*). Cf. note on *ἔχλος* § 1, 2, 11. — *ὅτι* before *οὐδέν*, and *οὐδ'*, sign of a direct quotation and consequently not to be translated. Cf. note on *ὅτι* § 7. — *οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσθαι*, sc. *ἐπιβουλεύειν σοι φανερὸς γέγονα*. — *ἦ γάρ*, *yes for*; *ἦ* is in sense equivalent here to *ὁμολογῶ*, *I acknowledge* (it); hence the force of *γάρ*. — *ἀνάγκη*, sc. *ἐστί*. With *ἀνάγκη*, we often find *ἐστί* omitted. — *γενοίμην*, sc. *φίλος σοι καὶ πιστός*. — Who has not seen the character of Orontes reproduced, on a smaller scale, in what we call "a spoiled child?"

§ 9. *ἀπόφηναι* (from *ἀποφαίνω*) *γνώμην*, *express an opinion*; *ὅστις* and *ἔ, τι* in an indirect question instead of *τίς*, *τί*. — *τάδε*, *as follows*. Observe the distinction here made between *τάδε* and *ταῦτα*. With *ταῦτα*, compare *τοιαῦτα*, *τοσαῦτα*, and *οὕτως*; with *τάδε*, compare *τοιδαί*, *τοσάδε*, and *ἔδε*. See Gr. § 808. — *τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι*, *to be on our guard against this man*. Whereas *φυλάττειν τινά* signifies *to guard any one*. For the force of the Mid. voice (*φυλάττεσθαι*), see Gr. § 250. — *τὸ . . . εἶναι*, *so far as relates to this man*; accus. of limitation. Gr. § 279, 7; *εἶναι* has in such formulas, says Hertlein, a limiting sense like *γέ, at least*.

§ 10. *ἔφη*: sc. *Κλέαρχος*: (as Clearchus afterwards) *related*. — *τῆς ζώνης*, *by the girdle*, gen. of part. Gr. § 273, 3. (b). This is said to have been among the Persians a sign of condemnation to death. — *καὶ οἱ οὐν*, *even his relatives*. — *οἷς προσετάχθη*, lit. *they to whom it was appointed* led etc. Krüger reads *οἱ προσετάχθη*, *to the place where it was appointed* (to



them to lead him). — *οἱ περ*, the very persons who; — *περ* is intensive: the antecedent of *οἱ περ* is the subject of *εἶδον*. — *ἐπὶ δαδάρων*, after a verb of motion, denoting direction towards; *ἐπὶ δαδάρῳ* denotes the object or end without the idea of motion.

§ 11. *οὔτε . . . οὐδέτε* . . . no one ever beheld Orontes either etc.; for the negatives, see Gr. § 318, 6. — *εἰδός*, knowing, in opposition to the idea of *εἰκάζων*, conjecturing. — . . . *ἄλλοι ἄλλως*, some conjectured one thing; some, another. It is suggested on the strength of a passage in Herod. (7. 114.), that he may have been buried alive in the tent.

## CHAP. VII.

March to the vicinity of Cunaxa. Review of the forces at midnight; — Cyrus excites the enthusiasm of the Greeks by magnificent promises; — after passing a trench dug by the king, not expecting an immediate engagement, the army marches somewhat negligently.

§ 1. *μέσας νύκτας* is used in the plur. says Krüger, because reference is had to the several parts (*φυλακαί*) into which the night was divided. — *εἰς τὴν ἐπ. ἑω*, on the following morning; cf. 2, 3, 25; 4, 1, 15. The notion of direction towards is contained in these expressions. — *ὅν τῷ στρατεύματι*; cf. 1, 8, 1; *ὅν* is not commonly expressed with this idea. Here however perspicuity requires it; for if the dat. stood without *ὅν*, it might be connected either with *μαχοῦμενον* denoting the army of Cyrus; or with *ἤξευν* denoting the army of the king. — *μαχοῦμενον*, fut. particip. denoting purpose. — *κέρως*, for the government, see Gr. § 275. 1. — *τοῦ δεξ. κέρως*, and *τοῦ εὐωνόμου*: the right and the left wing of the Greeks is meant; cf. 1, 8, 4. The whole Grecian force constituted the right wing of the army of Cyrus; this place having been assigned them as the post of honor. It was also the post of danger in a Grecian army; for in case they were outflanked, the right side, not being covered with the shield, was more exposed than the left would be. — *αὐτός*, he himself, i. e. Cyrus.

§ 2. *ἡμέρᾳ*, governed by *ἔμμε* used as a preposition. Gr. § 289, Rem. — *πῶς*, the direct interrogative, here used in an indirect question instead of *ὅπως*; cf. *τί* instead of *ὅτι*, 1, 4, 13. — *αὐτὸς παρρησιε παρόντων τοιῶδε*, he himself, encouraging, advised (them) as follows. *παρρησιε* from *παραινέω*; *τοιῶδε*, such things as follow; *τοσάδε*, so many things as follow; *τάδε*, the following things. Cf. also note on *τάδε*, 1, 6, 9.

§ 3. *οὐκ ἀνθ. . . βαρβάρων*, not because I am in want of barbarian men etc. For the government of *ἀνθρώπων*, see Gr. § 273, 5. (b). — *ἀμεινότερος καὶ κρείττους*, better and braver, a pleonasm employed for emphasis.

— προσέλαβον, sc. ὁμᾶς. — ὅπως . . . ἄνδρες, see therefore that ye be men etc. Gr. § 330, 6. and Rem. 4. — ἦς instead of ἦν by attraction. Gr. § 332, 6. — ὅπερ ἦς, for which, is thought to be the only instance of ὅπερ and the gen. instead of the gen. alone with εὐδαιμονίζω. — ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων, in preference to all that I have. The antecedent πάντων is here drawn into the relative clause, instead of ἀντὶ πάντων & ἔχω. Cf. ὃ εἶχε στρατεύμα 1, 2, 1.

§ 4. The learner will distinguish between εἰδῆτε (from οἶδα) and ἴδῃτε (from εἶδον). — γάρ, epexegetic; see L. & S. under γάρ, II. — τὸ πλῆθος, sc. ἐστὶ. — ἀνδραχθῆς; for the force of the aor. subjunct. with ἄν, see note 1, 4, 15. — τὰ ἄλλα . . . οἷους, in respect to the other things, I seem to myself to be even ashamed (considering) what sort of etc. It is usual to explain the construction of οἷους by supposing an ellipsis of λογίζομενος or ἐνθυμούμενος. Would it not be simpler and more natural to supply mentally the antecedent of οἷους, namely τοιοῦτοις ἀνθρώποις, or ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων (for this construction see Plat. Crito 45. e.)? Thus: I seem to myself to be even ashamed on account of (or, in behalf of) such men as you shall know those who are in our country (to be). — ἡμῖν is the ethical dat.; i. e. the dat. of the person who experiences joy or sorrow in view of the fact which is stated. Gr. § 284, (10). (d.) — ἀνδρῶν. Observe how marked a distinction is made between this word and ἀνθρώπων in the last sentence. — τοῖς οἰκοῖς (ἡλωτόν, an object of envy to those at home. — τὰ παρ' ἐμοῖ κ.τ.λ., to choose the things with me in preference to those at home. τῶν οἰκοῖ from the nom. τὰ οἰκοῖ; τοῖς οἰκοῖ (just above) is masc. from the nom. οἱ οἰκοῖ.

§ 5. καὶ μὴν. In a similar connection in English, one would say, yes, but; certainly, but; see καὶ μὴν in L. & S., in the alphabetic order. — διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ κ.τ.λ., lit. on account of being at such a point of danger approaching; i. e. on account of being on the eve of danger so imminent; κινδύνου limits τοιούτῳ. — ἂν . . . τι, but if any thing shall have happened fortunately. τι refers indefinitely to the undertaking of Cyrus. — μεμνησθαι, perf. in form but pres. in meaning; cf. Lat. meminisse. Here the pres. is used instead of the fut. to denote the certainty of the future action. Cf. 7, 6, 38. — ἔτι: δέ, sc. λέγουσιν. — μεμφο, Gr. § 154, 8. — βούλοιο, sc. ἀποδοῦναι.

§ 6. ἀλλὰ is often used by Xen. at the beginning of a speech made in reply to something going before. — ἔστι . . . πρὸς . . . μέχρι: a verb of rest with a construction implying motion: cf. εἰσὶν 1, 2, 7; reaches southward to the region where etc. — διὰ χειμῶνα, sc. οὗ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι. — τούτων, these limits; dependent on μέσφ. Cf. 3, 4, 20. — τὰ . . . πάντα seems here to be the direct object of παραπεύουσιν; but as this verb regularly governs the gen., perhaps πάντα should be considered

a remote object, *accus. of limitation*, and the verb should be understood as used absolutely. Cf. τὰ πάντα 2, 1, 1.

§ 7. In the idea of ἡμεῖς, Cyrus would very naturally include those whom he was addressing, as well as himself; but by ἡμᾶς before δεῖ he must mean himself alone. The plural instead of the singular both of the first and second persons is almost as common in Greek as in English; and the changes from one number to the other are remarkably abrupt in Greek. Observe here the sudden change from ἡμᾶς to δέδοικα, ἔχω, δῶ. — τοῦτων, *these domains* (above mentioned). For the government of τοῦτων by ἐγκρατεῖς, see Gr. § 275, 1. — ὥστε followed by the indic. denotes a consequence or result, as something actual, and if made negative takes οὐ; followed by the infin., it denotes a consequence or result merely as a thing supposed, and if made negative, takes μή. — δέδοικα, μή, like the Latin *vereor ne*. Gr. § 318, Rem. 6. — καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν, *a golden crown also*; i. e. in addition to all that had been promised before. A golden crown even among the republican Greeks was often given as a reward for distinguished services.

§ 8. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, *and those who had heard these things*; not, *and they having heard these things*. — ἐξήγγελλον, sc. ταῦτα. — οἱ τε στρατηγοί. These words seem to be an interpolation, inasmuch as the generals are mentioned in § 2, as being present with Cyrus; and it would seem unnatural that they should repair to him again, after promises so flattering. — σφίσιν distinguished from ταυτοῖς, Gr. § 302, Rem. 3. — ὁ δὲ . . . τὴν γνώμην, *and he, having satisfied the mind of all*. In such a connection, the Greek could say either τὴν γνώμην, or τὰς γνώμας. — ἀπέπεμπε, sc. ἑκαστας.

§ 9. μὴ μάχεσθαι, *not to fight*, i. e. not to engage personally in the battle. — ταυτῶν: dependent on ὑπισθεν. Gr. § 273, 3. (b). — ὡδέ πως, *somehow as follows*. — ἤπειτο, referred to ἐρωτάω, as a pres. tense corresponding in sense. Οἷε, 2d pers. sing. of οἶμαι; always used by the Attic writers instead of οἶν; so also βούλει and ὑφει from βούλομαι and ὑφάμαι. Gr. § 116, 11. — ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, being without the article, is indefinite: *a brother of mine*; ὁ ἐμὸς ἀδελφός would mean *my brother*: δὲ in this clause stands without μέν in the preceding clause; so regularly, when two kindred qualities or designations are predicated of one person. Cf. φυνὸς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, 1, 7, 5. — ταῦτα, *these things*, i. e. this power, this kingdom.

§ 10. ἀσπίς by meton. for those who carried the ἀσπίς; i. e. ὀπλῖται, *heavy-armed men*. By comparing the numbers here given with those in 1, 2, 9 and 1, 4, 3, deducting the number lost 1, 2, 25., it will appear that the heavy-armed were considerably diminished and the targeteers increased. Some of the heavy-armed men may in the mean time have

been equipped as targeteers; some from sickness, or other causes, may have been withdrawn. — τὰ εἰκοσι, for the use of the article with numerals, see Gr. § 216, 9.

§ 11. ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδες: probably an exaggeration. Plut. Artax. 13. represents Ctesias (who was present with Artaxerxes as his physician), as saying that the number present in the battle amounted to only forty myriads. — ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν, and there were others; or as we should say, and there were besides. Cf. ἄλλοι 1, 8, 9. — πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως, in front of the king himself; the article is wanting before βασιλέως, because it has the force of a proper noun. Gr. § 244, 7.

§ 12. καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες. Krüger following Weiske questions whether these words belong to the text; yet they are retained by other editors. — μυριάδων ἑκαστος, sc. ἔρχων. — τῆς μάχης, dependent on δοτέρησε. Gr. § 275, 1. — ἡμέρας; the dat. would be more usual, cf. 1, 2, 25. — Why Abrocamas, who is said (1, 4, 18.) to have been before Cyrus, was too late for the engagement does not appear from the narrative. It is not improbable that he intentionally loitered, till the contest between the two candidates for the throne was decided.

§ 13. ἐκ c. gen. out of, out from among; παρὰ c. gen. from the side of, from the presence of (in Attic prose with the name of a person); ἀπὸ c. gen. from (in a general sense; usually with the name of a thing). — τῶν πολεμίων (the second) dependent on the antecedent of οἱ: those of the enemy who etc. — ταῦτα, the same things; observe how this word differs in form from ταῦτα just above.

§ 14. τῷ στρατεύματι, dat. of accompaniment. Gr. § 285, Rem. 2. Sometimes, though less frequently, σύν is expressed with the dat. in this sense. Cf. 1, 7, 1. — ὀρυκτῇ, artificial (in opposition to the idea that it was produced by any natural cause). The fact of his meeting with this ditch indicated to Cyrus that the forces of the king were near and prepared for battle. Hence the force of γὰρ after καὶ. — ὀργυαί. The more usual construction would be the gen. limiting τάφρος; cf. σταδίων 1, 4, 11; πλέθρων 1, 4, 9 and 1, 4, 4; also just below § 16, ποδῶν limiting πόροδος. Here ὀργυαί is grammatically in apposition with τάφρος. Cf. 3, 4, 7; 4, 8, 16.

§ 15. ἐπὶ, denoting extension over. Gr. § 296. 111. (b). One might rather expect the accns. without a prep. here. — μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τοίχους, as far as to the wall of Media. This was built by one of the last Babylonian kings (before Babylon fell into the hands of the Persians), as a defence to the open country against the Medes; who after the fall of the Assyrian empire had possession of the upper Tigris. It extended entirely across from the Euphrates to the Tigris. It is still at the present day in some places from fifty to sixty feet wide, and from thirty to forty feet in

height. It is called by the Arabs, Sidd-Nimrūd, i. e. Nimrod's wall. The part nearest to the Euphrates was probably dilapidated in the time of Xen., and not seen from the line of march; so that the distance, *twelve parasangs*, was something which was merely reported to him; the use of μέχρη is at all events geographically inaccurate. The sentence included in brackets is evidently an interpolation, as was first shown by Rennel. It is the gloss of some person who had an indistinct idea of the four great canals which lower down the river, flow from the Euphrates into the Tigris (not, as here stated, in the opposite direction); and who confounded these canals with the ditch mentioned by Xenophon. Such in substance is the note of Kiepert. On the other hand Grote in a note on chap. 70, remarks, "subsequent observations, recently made known by Colonel Rawlinson to the Geographical Society, have contradicted the views of Dr. Ross," (the same with those of Kiepert,) "and have shown that the wall of Media, in the line here assigned to it, has no evidence to rest upon." . . . . "As our knowledge now stands, there is not a single point mentioned by Xen. in Babylonia which can be positively verified except Babylon itself,—and Pylae, which is known pretty nearly as the spot where Babylonia proper commences." For a more full discussion of the subject, see Grote, ch. 70. — διαλείπουσι . . . παρασάγγην, and are a *parasang* apart; ἐκδοτή, in apposition with the subject of διαλείπουσι.

§ 16. πάροδος στενῆ. The completion of the ditch through this remaining space of twenty feet, was doubtless postponed by the king till the last moment, in order that the trade on the N. E. bank of the river might not be stopped before necessity required. That it was not already completed before the arrival of the army indicates that Cyrus had surprised the king by his rapid march. — ποιεῖ, historic pres.; the Eng. idiom requires here the pluperf. Cf. 8, 4, 12. — προσελαύνοντά, particip. after a *verbum sentiendi*. Gr. § 310. 4. (a).

§ 17. παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο: observe the sudden change in number. Cf. ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνησαν 4, 2, 22; γίγνεσθαι with local adverbs or prepositions (ἐν, ἐς, κατὰ, ἐπὶ, ὑπέρ) is often translated *to come*. — μέν, the correlative of δέ § 20. — ὑποχωρούντων agrees with ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων. — ἦσαν, cf. 1, 2, 23.

§ 18. τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην, the Ambraciot. Ambracia was a city in Epirus; it is now called Arta. — ὅτι . . . πρότερον, because on the *eleventh day before* (reckoning back) *from that day*. — ὅτι before βασιλεὺς introduces the *oratio recta*. Cf. note on ὅτι 1, 6, 7. — δέκα ἡμερῶν, *within ten days*. See Gr. § 273, 4. (b). — ἔτι, *after that, at all*. — οὐ μαχεῖται. A conditional clause always requires the neg. μή; hence Krüger reads εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ., omitting οὐ before μαχεῖται; but the reading in the text seems to be genuine,—and οὐ μαχεῖται, as a repetition of the words

of the soothsayer, seems natural and forcible. We must understand *οὐ*, not as qualifying the whole conditional clause, but *μαχεῖται* alone. See Gr. § 318, Rem. 1. — *ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύῃς*, conditional fut. perf. Cf. note 1, 4, 15. — *αἱ δ. ἡμέρ.*, the ten days, i. e. those above mentioned.

§ 19. ἀπεγνωκέναι τοῦ μάχ-, had abandoned the idea of fighting. For the government of τοῦ μάχεσθαι, see Gr. § 271. 2.

§ 20. τὸ πολὺ, cf. note on 1, 4, 13. — αὐτῷ, Gr. § 284. (10). — ἀνατεταραγμένον, without military order; from ἀναταράσσω. — τοῖς στρατιώταις, dependent on ἤγγοντο as dat. commodi. Gr. § 284, Rem. 4.

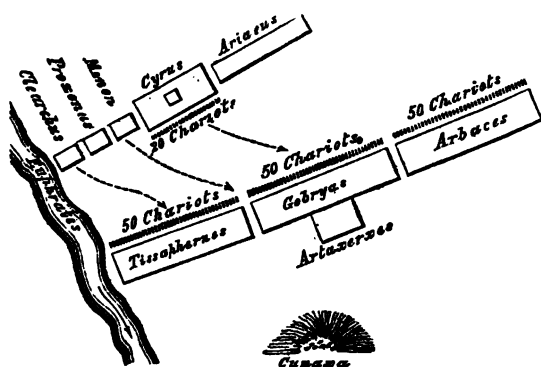
## CHAP. VIII.

## Battle of Cunaxa and death of Cyrus.

§ 1. Καὶ ἤδη τε . . . καὶ . . . And already not only . . . but . . . See Gr. § 321, 1. (a). — ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθ.: about (the time of) full market; i. e. from 10 A. M. to 12 M. — ὁ σταθμός, here used in the strict sense, the station, the place where they were to halt. — καταλβεῖν, to put an end to (the march), to halt. Cf. 1, 10, 19. — τῶν πιστῶν, depends, as is often the case with the gen., directly on the proper name, without the expression of τῶν: cf. τῶν ἀμφὶ κ.τ.λ., 1, 2, 3. — ἀνὰ κράτος, at full speed, μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς, Suid. — τῷ Ἰππῷ, see Gr. § 285, Rem. 2. — ἐβόα, from βοάω. — ὅτι, here again not to be translated, since it is followed by the *oratio recta*. — σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι, cf. 1, 7, 1. — ὥς εἰς, as if for, apparently for. Cf. 1, 8, 23.

§ 2. αὐτῶν qualifies ἐπιπρεσεῖσθαι. — ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δέ, the Greeks and also all imagined; δέ we translate and; καί, also. Cf. δὲ καί, 1, 2, 2 and 7, and 8, and 9. — ἐπιπρεσεῖσθαι, sc. βασιλέα, that the king would fall upon them etc. — The battle, about to be described, was fought in the autumn of 401, B. C., not far from the village of Cunaxa (as we learn from Plut. Artax. 8.); and hence it is called in history the battle of Cunaxa. According to 2, 2, 6., this place was three hundred and sixty stadia (about fifty miles) from Babylon. Plutarch, however, in the passage above referred to, says it was five hundred stadia from Babylon.

§ 3. Κύρος τε . . . τοῖς τε. These clauses are connected and made correlative by τέ. — ἐνέδω (from ἐνδύω) put on. — τὰ παντά, cf. note 1, 5, 15. — ἐξοπλίζεσθαι, to equip themselves fully. It appears from 1, 7, 20, that a portion of the heavy armor which was necessary for a full equipment had been laid on the wagons and beasts of burden. — ἐκαστον, subject of καθίστασθαι.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF CUNAXA.

§ 4. τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέφατος ἔχων, occupying the right (parts) of the wing. The whole Grecian force constituted the right wing of the army (see note on 1, 7, 1.); and of this wing Clearchus occupied the extreme right. See plan of the battle. — ἐχόμενος, being next. See L. & S., B. 2. — Μέγαν δὲ καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, and Menon and his army.

§ 5. εἰς, to the number of. Gr. § 290, 2. (1.) (b.) — παρὰ, near. Gr. § 297, 111. (c.) — ἔστησαν. For the difference between the 1st and 2d aor. of this verb, see Gr. § 173, Rem. 2.

§ 6. Κύρος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, sc. ἔστησαν, which is expressed above § 5. It is conjectured also that κατὰ τὸ μέσον has been dropped from the text; since we should expect that his position in the army would be mentioned here. Cf. § 22 below. — αὐτοί, they themselves, i. e. the men in distinction from their horses, which also had defensive armor (§ 7). — ψιλήν, unarmed; not absolutely bare, but without helmet. He had on a τιάρα, according to Plutarch; who in describing the death of Cyrus (Artax. 11.) says ἀποτίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου. — λέγεται, see Introduction § 6.

§ 7. In the treatise on horsemanship (De re eq. 12, 8), Xen. says, it is necessary to equip the horse also with frontlet (προμετωπίδιον), and breastplate (προστερηπίδιον), and cuisses (παραμυρίδια); for these at the same time serve as cuisses for the rider also. These last words explain the reason why the παραμυρίδια, which are mentioned in § 6, are not again mentioned in this section. — μάχαρες . . . Ἑλληνικὰς, Grecian swords. The μάχαρα was slightly curved and used for striking; the ἔλφος was straight and pointed, and was used like a dagger.

§ 8. τέ . . . καί. See note 1, 8, 1. — χρόνῳ . . . ὕστερον, sc. ἐφάνη, and in no considerable time afterwards, it appeared etc. — τὶς after μελάνια and also after χαλκός, denotes the indistinctness with which they were seen, owing to the distance. — ἐπὶ πολὺ, reaching afar off. — ἐγγύτερον, like other adverbs of place, is often used with εἶναι or γίγνεσθαι as an indeclinable adjective. Cf. πλεσιόν 1, 8, 1; and ἐγγύτερον 4, 7, 28.

§ 9. λευκοθήρακες. Perhaps these white corselets were of linen. In the Cyr. 6, 4, 2., it is said of Abradatas the Assyrian, ἐμύλλε τὸν λινὸν δάρακα, ὅς ἐπιχώριος ἦν, ἐνδύεσθαι. — ἐχόμενοι, cf. above (§ 4) ἐχόμενος. — γερροφόροι. The γέρρον was a rectangular shield, of wicker frame and covered with leather. — Αἰγύπτιοι. As Egypt was not at that time under the dominion of Persia (2, 1, 14.), it is probable that the Egyptians here mentioned were the descendants of those who had received a residence in Asia from the elder Cyrus. See Cyr. 7, 1, 45. — κατὰ ἔθνη, in separate nations; this was the Persian custom. Herod. 7, 60 and 100. — ἐπορεύετο agrees with ἔθνος, which is in apposition with πάντες οὗτοι. It cannot well be rendered literally into English. Cf. οὗτοι ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει, 2, 1, 15.

§ 10. ἄρματα, sc. ἐπορεύετο, which had just before been expressed. — διαλείποντα συγχρόν, a considerable space apart. — ἐκ τῶν . . . ἀποτεταμένα (from ἀποτείνω), projecting out from etc. — εἰς πλάγιον, in an oblique direction. — καὶ . . . βλέποντα, and (others) pointing (lit. looking) towards the ground. — ἡ δὲ γνῶμη ἦν, and the plan was. — ὡς εἰς . . . ἐλῶντα, apparently to drive into etc. ἐλῶντα, fut. act. particip. from ἐλαύνω. The fut. ἐλάσω instead of ἐλῶ is extremely rare except in later writers. (Gr. § 158, 8.) ἐλῶντα and διακόνοντα are in the accus. absol., with τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα understood. For the two principal forms of the accus. abs. see Gr. § 312, 5 and 6.

§ 11. εἶπεν, 1, 7, 4. — τοῖς Ἕλλησι belongs in idea both with καλέσας and παρεκελεύετο. When two connected verbs take a common object, but require a different case, the object is expressed but once, and commonly in the case which the nearest verb requires. Krüg. Sprachlehre § 60, 5. — σιγῇ ὡς ἀνυστόν, as silently as possible (not as L. & S. sub ἀνυστόν render, as stillly etc.); σιγῇ, in silence, opposed to the idea of shouting and screaming (κραυγῇ); ἡσυχῇ, quietly, opposed to the idea of noise of any kind.

§ 12. τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἔγειν, cried aloud to Clearchus to lead. ἐβόα, as frequently λέγειν and εἰπεῖν, contains the idea of κελεύειν and hence takes the infin., cf. ἔλεγε, 1, 3, 8. — κατὰ, against, Gr. § 292. II. (1.) (a.) — ἡμῖν, for the government, see Gr. § 284. (11.) — πεποιήται. The perf. expresses the certainty of the future action, by representing it as already completed.



§ 13. τὰ μέσον. For the difference between μέσος before and μέσος after the article, see Gr. § 245, Rem. 5; στίφος, a body of men in close array; ὁρῶν κ.τ.λ., beholding the central body in close array; i. e. τοὺς ἐξαισχυλίουσιν ἰππεῖς, 1, 7, 11 and 1, 8, 24. — ἀκούων Κύρου, hearing from Cyrus; for the different constructions of ἀκούω, see Gr. § 273, Rem. 19. — ἔξω ὄντα . . . βασιλέα, that the king was beyond the left wing; for the accus. and particip. (instead of the accus. and infin.) after *verba sentiendi*, see Gr. § 310, 4. — τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, lit. of those of himself, i. e. of his own forces. Cf. τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, 1, 2, 15. — ἀλλ' and the repetition of ὁ Κλέαρχος is occasioned by the insertion of the explanatory sentence τοσοῦτον γὰρ κ.τ.λ. — ὅμως, nevertheless; i. e. although Cyrus commanded it, nevertheless Clearchus refused etc. — αὐτῷ μέλοι, it would concern him, i. e. he would take care. — ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι, that it should be well; ἔχοι is impers.

§ 14. ὁμαλῶς, in an even line, cf. ἐν ἰσφ § 11 above. — ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον, still remaining in the same (place). — ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων, of those still coming up, i. e. from the march. — οὐ πάνυ πρὸς, not very close to, — the adv. here qualifying the preposition; cf. ὡς qualifying εἰς § 1 above. — κατεθεῖατο . . . ἀποβλέπων, he took a view in each direction looking away etc.

§ 15. Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, Xenophon an Athenian is here mentioned for the first time in the Anabasis; and, as always hereafter, in the 3d person. Cf. Introduction § 6. — ἐπελάσας (from ἐπελάβη), having rode up. — ἐπιστήσας sc. τὸν ἵππον, having halted. It appears from παρελαύνων just above, that he was previously riding along. — τὰ ἱερὰ, the omens from the entrails of the victims; τὰ σφάγια the omens from the motions of the victims. The repetition of καλὰ is emphatic. With ἱερὰ and σφάγια understand εἴη.

§ 16. ὅτι is here again followed by the *oratio recta*. — τὸ σύνθημα, the war-cry, as Krüger interprets it; or, as it is commonly understood, the watch-word. From what follows in this connection as well as from Cyr. 3, 3, 58., it appears that the watchword (σύνθημα) was first communicated along the ranks to the extreme lines and then back again; and that the paean (the battle-song) was then sung. The σύνθημα answered a double purpose: — first, it expressed some sentiment calculated to inspire courage before the battle; and secondly, it was used as a watchword in the engagement if the different ranks of the same army at any time came in collision with one another. — καὶ ὁ, and he, refers only to a person; and is used only in the nom. case; the corresponding accus. would be καὶ τόν instead of καὶ ὁν. — ὁ δέ, and he, i. e. Clearchus; or if instead of ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν just above (the reading which Hertlein adopts from Dindorf), we should read ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν (with Krüger and others), then of course ὁ δέ before ἀπεκρίνατο would mean Xenophon. — Ζεὺς σωτήρ καὶ νίκη.

Some expression denoting good fortune would naturally be chosen for a watchword. Thus in 6, 5, 25. we have *Zeus σωτήρ*, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών; in Cyr. 3, 3, 58. *Zeus σύμμαχος καὶ ἡγεμών*; and in Cyr. 7, 1, 10. *Zeus σωτήρ καὶ ἡγεμών*.

§ 17. Ἀλλὰ denotes the sudden turn in his thoughts, from the doubt which filled his mind when he asked "*what the noise was*" in the Grecian ranks, to the animation with which he said, "*I both accept it, and let it be*" (thus). With ἀλλὰ in this place, cf. ἀλλὰ 1, 7, 6. δέχομαι is the proper expression of one who recognizes a favorable sign and appropriates it to himself. Cf. Herod. 9. 91; cf. also *accipio* in Latin. Virg. Aen. 12. 260. — τοῦτο, *this* (i. e. σωτηρία καὶ νίκη). — τὰ φάλαγγες: one might expect τὰ φάλα. as the noun is fem.; but the fem. form τὰ occurs only a few times and that in the poets; ταῖν in the gen. and dat. is more common than τὰ and found even in prose; but τοῖν for the fem. as well as masc. and neut. is much more common than ταῖν. — προήρχοντο, *began first* (i. e. πρὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, before the barbarians belonging to the army of Cyrus) *to go* etc.

§ 18. πορευομένων, gen. abs. sc. αὐτῶν. — τὸ ἐπιεπτόμενον, *the part which was left behind*, in allusion to ἐξεκβύμαιναι (*projected forward* as a surge rises from a great body of water). — δρόμῳ δεῖν, *to hasten at a running pace*. — οἷον περ, *in such a manner as*, or more simply, *as*. — Ἐνυάλιος, commonly considered another name of Ἄρης. — ἐλελίξω and the synon. word ἀλαλάξω are from ἐλελεῦ and ἀλαλά, the actual words which were shouted in marching against the enemy, after singing the παιδν. — λέγουσι, cf. § 6 above, and Introduction § 6. — τοῖς ἵπποις, the horses here spoken of were attached probably to the scythe-bearing chariots (§ 10 above), which went in front of the enemy and were intended to break the ranks of the Greeks.

§ 19. ἐξικνεῖσθαι, sc. αὐτῶν; for the infin. after πρὶν, see Gr. § 337. 9. — κατὰ κράτος, *lit. according to their power*, i. e. *with all their might*. Cf. ἀνὰ κράτος 1, 8, 1.

§ 20. ἐφέροντο with the neut. plur. Cf. ἦσαν 1, 2, 23. — τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ, *some . . . others*, distributive clauses in apposition with τὰ ἔργατα. — ἡνιόχων dependent on κενά. Gr. § 271, 3. — προΐδοιεν, sc. τὰ ἔργατα. — ἔστι δ' ὅστις, *now and then one however* (of the Greeks). For the analysis of the expression, see Gr. § 331, Rem. 4. — ἐκπλήγεις (from ἐκπλήσσω), *having been terrified*, and thus losing self-possession. — οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν, *not even this one suffered* etc. Instead of τοῦτον, one would rather expect τοῦτους. See however ταύτην 3, 3, 18. — οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ . . . οὐδεὶς, *and not even any other* etc. οὐδὲ—δέ, in a negative correspond to καὶ—δέ in an affirmative clause.

§ 21. τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦς, *that which was opposed to themselves*. — οὐδ'

ἔς, not even thus; ἔς in the sense of ὅπως is not uncommon after καί, οὐδέ, and μηδέ; observe that it is *oxytone* in this sense, but in every other an *anionic*. — ἐξήχθη (from ἐξάγω), *was he induced*. — συνεσπειραμένην, (from συσπείρω), *drawn closely together*; agrees with τὴν . . . τάξιν. All which intervenes between τὴν and τάξιν is of the nature of an adjective qualifying the noun τάξιν. — ἐπεμελεῖτο . . . βασιλεὺς, *he narrowly watched what the king would do*. By the general rule (Gr. § 327<sup>a</sup>, 1.) we should expect the optat. This verb is another added to the many examples already pointed out, of a sudden transition from a dependent to the form of an independent construction. — ἦδει (from οἶδα) αὐτὸν ὅτι, *lit. he knew him that*; another instance of anticipation. Cf. 1, 1, 5 and 1, 6, 5. — μέσον: one would naturally expect τὸ μέσον; yet μέσον, like δεξιὸν and ἐξωνυμιον, denoting a part of the line of battle, often stands without the article. Cf. 1, 8, 13 and 1, 8, 23.

§ 22. τό shows that αὐτῶν is grammatically connected with μέσον; *their own centre*: ἡγούνται. Several editions have ἡγούντο; Hertlein, following Dindorf, has the pres. tense. — καὶ . . . καὶ, *not only . . . but also*. — ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ, *in the safest (position)*. — ἦν . . . ἐκατέρωθεν, *if their force may be on both sides of them*; αὐτῶν being dependent on the adv. of place. Krüger reads ἦν ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ᾗ, *if their own strength may be on both sides*. — ἀσθδένεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα dependent on νομίζοντες.

§ 23. ἔξω ἐγένετο, *lit. became without, i. e. extended beyond*. — ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιῶν, *from the opposite side*. — αὐτῷ and αὐτοῦ mean the king; αὐτοῦ is dependent on ἔμπροσθεν, and τοῖς τεταγμένοις on ἐμάχητο.

§ 24. δέσας μή, *having feared that*; δέσας from δέδοικα which though perf. in form, is present in meaning. — γινόμενος, sc. βασιλεὺς. — κατακόψῃ, the general rule would require the optat. here. See note on ποιήσει § 21 above. — τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους, being thrown to the end of the sentence, presents the contrast to ἐξακοσίοις more strikingly.

§ 25. εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες, *having rushed on in the pursuit*. — σχεδόν, *chiefly*; οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι, *table companions*, called also (1, 9, 31.) συντράπεζοι.

§ 26. καθορᾷ, *he describes*. — οὐκ ἠνέσχeto, *he did not contain himself*. παλεῖ, *strikes (him)*, with the spear, according to Ctesias (see Plut. Artax. 11.); although the verb παλεῖ does not necessarily imply any thing more than the use of a missile. See Cyr. 7, 1, 34. Concerning Ctesias, see Introduct. § 7. — καὶ . . . φησι; an independent added to a relative sentence; cf. καὶ . . . δὲ . . . ἀπέδειξε, added to ᾗς . . . ἐποίησε, 1, 1, 2.

§ 27. μαχόμενοι. One would expect here the gen. abs. The nomin. can however stand, says Hertlein, because the following subject *ἐκείνοι* constitutes a part of those of whom μαχόμενοι is predicated. Cf. δέμενοι 2,

2, 8. and καταλιπόντες 5, 2, 21. — ἐπόσει . . . Κτησίας λέγει, *how many* etc. *Ctesias relates*. — ἐκένυ, i. e. τῷ βασιλεῖ. — ἔκειντο, like the Lat. *jacere*, *lay* (dead).

§ 28. δ . . . ἀερόπων, *the attendant most devoted to him of (all) his officers*. — περιπεσεῖν, dependent on λέγεται. The preposition (περι-) suggests that he threw his arms around the body of Cyrus.

§ 29. Κύρῳ dependent on ἐπι- in composition. — οἱ δέ, sc. φασί. — ἐπισφάσθαι instead of ἐπισφάζαι which occurred in the last clause. See Gr. § 250. We have here ἐαυτὸν as the object of ἐπισφάσθαι. It is added both for perspicuity and for emphasis:—*he (himself) slew himself*:—the expression being almost equivalent, says Krüger, to αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.

## CHAP. IX.

## Character of Cyrus.

§ 1. τῶν . . . γενομένων, *who have lived since the elder Cyrus*,—the founder of the Persian empire; the subject of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. What he says here of Cyrus the Younger is the highest possible eulogy. — παρὰ, c. gen. in connection with the pass. occurs chiefly with verbs of saying or communicating. Gr. § 251, Rem. 4. — Κύρου ἐν περὶ γενέσθαι, *to have been in intimate acquaintance with Cyrus*. Κύρου depends on περὶ. Cf. the synonymous expression ἐμπελὼς αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, *to be intimately acquainted with him*, 2, 6, 1.

§ 2. πρότον μὲν, a correlative with ἐπεὶ δέ § 6. — πάντων πάντα, *of all in all respects*. For a similar *paranomasia*, see 2, 5, 7. πάντῃ . . . πάντα . . . πανταχῇ πάντων; 2, 6, 7. πανταχοῦ πάντες; 4, 1, 28. πολλοῦ πολλοῦ.

§ 3. αἱ βασιλέως θύραι was the common expression for *the court of the (Persian) king*. — For the accentuation and meaning of ἔστι, see Gr. § 85, 1.

§ 4. ἀκούουσι connected by καὶ to δεῶνται, *behold and hear of*; καὶ τοὺς τίμ. . . καὶ ἄλλους, *both those who are honored etc., and others etc.* — εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες, *immediately being (yet) boys*, i. e. *from their boyhood onward*. — ἤρχεω. This they learn through the example of the king.

§ 5. αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρότον, instead of πρότον μὲν αἰδημ.; the present arrangement gives more prominence to the adjective. — πείθεσθαι with its clause is in the same construction with εἶναι, to which it is connected by τέ: καὶ . . . μᾶλλον, *even more than those who were inferior to himself* (in rank); ἐαυτοῦ governed by the comparative immediately following. — With φιλιππότατος supply from the preceding clause.

εἶναι; and with *χρῆσθαι*, *δίδκει*. — *ἐκρινον* is most naturally explained by Krüger as *impers.*; like *λέγουσι* and *φασί*, Gr. § 238, 5. (c.): *men judged him to be* etc. (In German, *man urtheilte*.) — *τῶν . . . ἔργων* depends on *φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι* in the same way as the gen. on verbs denoting a state or affection of the mind. Gr. § 274, 1; in *respect to the actions* etc., *to be most fond of learning* etc. — *τοξικῆς* and *ἀκοιτίσεως* are in apposition with *ἔργων*.

§ 6. *ἐπιφερομένην*, *attacking* (him). — *συμπεσόν* (from *συμπίπτω*), *having grappled with* (it). — *τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν*, *he suffered some things*. The strict antithesis to this would be *τὰ δ' ἐποίησεν*, *but he achieved other things*; and such a clause would be followed by a specification of what he did. The actual construction is briefer; instead of *τὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, we have *τέλος δέ*, *but finally*; and then the statement of what he did. — *κατέκτανε* from *κατακτείνω* = *κατακτείνω*. — *πολλοῖς μακαριστόν*, *most happy in the view of many*. For the construction of this dat., see Gr. § 284, (10).

§ 7. *ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη*; in the year 407, B. C. — *Φρυγία ἡ μεγάλη*, so called to distinguish it from *Φρυγία ἡ παρ' Ἑλλάσποντον*. The chief city of the former was Celsaenae. See map. — *καὶ πάντων*, *of all also*; not only of the forces of his own satrapy, but of all also who etc. — *οἷς καθήκει*, *on whom it is incumbent*, i. e. *who are required*. — *εἰς Κασ. πεδίον*. The plain of Castolus seems to have been the rendezvous of the military forces from the greater part of western Asia Minor. Such places were appointed throughout the Persian empire. Cf. Oecon. 4. 6. — *μέγ*, after *πρῶτον*, is a correlative of *δέ* after *φανερός*, § 11 below. — *περὶ πλείστον*, *of the greatest importance*. Gr. § 295, 3, 1. (d). — *εἰ . . . συνθοῖτο*, *if he made peace with any one, and if he made a treaty with any one*. *σπένδομαι*, says Krüger, implies previous hostility, *συντίθεμαι* suggests no such collateral notion. Observe the difference in form between the dat. of *τις* which we have in this clause, and the dat. of the article. — *μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι* depends on *ποιοῖτο*.

§ 8. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν*, *and* (there was proof of this) *for on this account*, etc. These words are used to connect sentences (*καί*), which express a fixed fact (*οὖν*), as a proof (*γὰρ*) of that which goes before. — *οἱ ἄνδρες*, sc. *ἐπιτρεπόμενοι*: *not only the cities, but the* (individual) *men* etc. — *παρά*, *contrary to*. Gr. § 297, 111, (1.) (b.). — *ἀν παθεῖν* (fut. in meaning), *that he would suffer*. See Gr. § 260, Rem. 10.

§ 9. *τοιγαροῦν* has the same force as *καὶ γὰρ οὖν* with the exception that *τοί* is intensive and *καί* connective. — *πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις*, *all the cities*, i. e. in Ionia; cf. 1, 1, 6. — *ἀντί*, *instead of*, Gr. § 287, 1. (2.) (b.). — *τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι*, *to abandon the exiles*. Cf. 1, 1, 7 and 1, 2, 2. *προέσθαι* from *προτῆμι*. The exiles whom Cyrus had received were the political enemies of the dominant party in Miletus, and hence the

ground of their fear. Probably the exiles belonged to the aristocratic party.

§ 10. καὶ before γάρ is a correlative of καὶ before ἔλεγε, —not only, but also. — ὅτι . . . προῖτα, *that he would never abandon* (any), sc. τινός, or better perhaps τινά, (cf. τὶς . . . αὐτοῦς, 1, 4, 8.) — ἅπασι, *once for all*. — ἔτι μεῖους, *still fewer*. — ἔτι . . . πρῶξιαν, *and should be still less fortunate*; κακῶς πράττειν, *to be unfortunate*; εὖ or καλῶς πράττειν, *to be fortunate*; κακῶς ποιεῖν, *to do harm* (to some one); εὖ or καλῶς ποιεῖν, *to do good* (to some one); so also ἀγαθόν, or κακόν with ποιεῖν τινα, *to do good, or, ill to any one*; cf. § 11.

§ 11. φανερός δ' ἦν . . . νικᾶν πειρώμενος, *lit. he was plain attempting to surpass* (him); i. e. *it was plain that he etc.* Cf. note on δηλός ἦν, 1, 2, 11. — For the two accusatives with ποιήσκειν, see Gr. § 280, 2. — εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ, *a prayer of his*, indefinite; τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ would be rendered *his prayer*; ὡς εὐχοντο, *that he prayed etc.* — ἔστε νικῆν . . . ἀλεξόμενος, *until, in requiting, he should surpass etc.* This was a common sentiment among the Greeks, cf. Isocra. 1. 26. How different and how much better is the Christian principle!

§ 12. πλείστοι δὲ. The superlative is often strengthened by δὲ. Cf. 1, 9, 18 and 20. See Gr. § 315, 2. — αὐτῷ ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀνδρί, *lit. to him one man at least*. The English idiom requires some change of construction in rendering; e. g. *A far greater number desired . . . to him than to any other one man*. — τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *of those contemporary with us*, limits ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀνδρί; for ἐπὶ c. gen., see Gr. § 296, (2). — προέσθαι, *(to give up, to surrender,)* is here used in a connection somewhat different from that in § 9 above.

§ 13. οὐ μὲν δὲ οὐδέ, *lit. not indeed not even*, or more simply and in an Eng. idiom, *nor indeed*. μὲν in this clause is considered synonymous with μήν; so also in the phrases ἀλλὰ μὲν δὲ, καὶ μὲν δὲ, οὐ μὲν δὲ, cf. 2, 2, 3; 3, 2, 14. — εἶα from ἔδω. — καταγελᾶν; some 'supply αὐτοῦ, i. e. Κόρου; others, τῶν νόμων; but it seems more natural and forcible to consider it as absolute. See L. & S. — στερομένους, *deprived of*, with a perf. signification, see Gr. § 161, 21. — ἐγένετο, *it happened*, nearly = ἐξῆν, *it was permitted*. — ἔχοντι . . . προχωροῖν, *having whatever might be convenient*, sc. to him to have; ἔχειν with προχωροῖν is suggested by ἔχοντι. Schneider's interpretation, which is followed by Krüger, seems too forced and is consequently not given here.

§ 14. τοὺς γὰρ μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς, *but those at least who were good*; μέντοι is here as usual intensive and slightly adversative; that which follows being opposed to the idea of severity contained in the preceding section. εἰς πόλεμον, *for war*, Gr. § 290, 2. (3.) (a.) — πρῶτον μὲν belongs in meaning to ἐρχοντας ἐποίει, as though the intervening clause were in a dependent construction, παλέμου αὐτῷ ὄντος. Clauses logically subor-

finite are not unfrequently made coördinate. Cf. 3, 1, 26; 3, 2, 4. — *καὶ αὐτός*, *himself also*, not merely his army. — *ἑώρα* (from *ὄραω*), see Gr. § 167, 4. — *καὶ* before *ἔρχοντας* a correlative of *καὶ* before *ἄλλῃ*. — *ἥς κατ. χάρας*, for *τῆς χάρας ἣν κατ.*: cf. *ἥς ἔρχοι χάρας*, 1, 9, 19; and the note on *ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα* 1, 2, 1.

§ 15. *ὥστε φαίνεσθαι . . . ἄξιον*, *so that he appeared to think it proper*, etc. — *Κύρον αἰσθ.*, more expressive than *αὐτὸν αἰσθήσεσθαι*.

§ 16. *eis*, *in respect to*; cf. 2, 6, 30. — *γέ*, thus united with *μήν*, presents with more point and emphasis than *δέ* a transition to another and important thought. Cf. § 20 below. — *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι*, (*mid.*) *to exhibit himself; to be conspicuous*. — *περὶ παντός*, *all-important*; cf. *περὶ πλείστου*, § 7 above. — *τούτους* referring to *τις*; cf. 1, 4, 8. *αὐτοῦς*. — *ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου*, *by unjust means, unjustly*; cf. *ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου*, § 19.

§ 17. *ἄλλα τε πολλὰ . . . καί*, *not only many other things . . . but especially*; when *τέ . . . καί* are correlative, the second member is joined emphatically to the first. Cf. Lat. *quum-tum*. Gr. § 321, 1. (c.) — *δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχ.* — *were accomplished for him justly*; *αὐτῷ*, for *him*, not as *dat.* of agent *by him*; *δικαίως* is predicated of the just actions, not of Cyrus, but of those who served him. — *ἀληθινῷ*, *true, genuine*, in opposition to the idea of spurious or counterfeit; *ἀληθής*, *true*, in opposition to the idea false or untrue. — *ἐπλευσαν*. Xen. evidently has in mind the Grecian soldiers particularly. — *εἶναι*; for the difference between the *inf.* and *particip.* after *γινώσκω*, see Gr. § 311, 4. — *κατὰ μῆνα*, *monthly*, payment being made by the month; cf. 1, 3, 21.

§ 18. *ἄλλὰ μήν*, *but further*, used to denote a transition to some new topic. — *ἀχάριστον*, *without thanks*, i. e. *unrequited*, qualifies *προθυμίας*. — *κράτιστοι δὲ*, see note on *πλείστοι δὲ*, § 12 above. *There were said to arise to Cyrus the very best supporters (servants) in every enterprise*.

§ 19. *εἰ δέ τινα . . . δικαίου*, *and if he saw that any one was skilful as a manager on the principles of justice*; *δεινόν*, *able; skilful*; *ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου*, cf. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου*, § 16 above. — *καὶ . . . τέ . . . καί*, *and not only . . . but also*. — *ἥς ἔρχοι χάρας* = *τὴν χάραν, ἥς ἔρχοι*. — *ὡς ἀφείλετο* denotes repetition or habit. Gr. § 260, (2), (β.): *he would never take (any thing) away from any one*. Hertlein supplies in this clause *αὐτῇ*, i. e. *τὴν χάραν*; but this is not so natural in connection with the next clause. — *πλείω*, *acc. plur. neuter*. — *ἐπέπατο* (*πάσμαι*), a poetic word, but used several times by Xen.

§ 20. *φίλους* is not perhaps the object of *ὑπερκεῖν*, as it stands without the article, but is rather to be considered a part of the relative clause with *ὅσους*, and instead of having its regular position after *ποιήσαιτο*, stands first for the sake of emphasis. — *γὰρ μήν*, cf. note § 16. — *ὅ, οἱ . . . καταργεῖσθαι*, *in that which he might perchance desire to accomplish*.

For *τυγχάνω* with the particip., see Gr. § 310, 4. (L) — *πρὸς* with the gen., after pass. verbs, is unusual in Attic prose.

§ 21. *καὶ γὰρ . . . ἔχει*. The simplest construction of this clause is as follows:—*For (it was) this very thing, on account of which HE thought he needed friends, that he might have helpers*; others construe thus, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὡς ἔχει συνεργούς (τούτου) οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔνεκα αὐτὸς φετο δεῖσθαι φίλων*. (It was) *for this (purpose) that* etc. — *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο κ.τ.λ.*; thus he set an example of what he thought a friend should be. — *τούτου* depends on *συνεργός*, ὅτου on *ἐπιθυμοῦντα*. For the accus. and particip. instead of the accus. and infin., see Gr. § 310, 4. (a.)

§ 22. *εἰς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος* limits the superlative *πλείστα*, lit. *he being one man at least received* etc., i. e. in an Eng. idiom, *he received more gifts than any other one man*; cf. *ἐπὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν*, limiting *πλείστοι* § 12 above. — *πάντων δὲ* limits the subject of *διεδίδου*, *he of all men* etc.; for the force of *δὲ*, see note on *πλείστοι δὲ* § 12 above. — *διεδίδου*, *used to give apart* (*δια-*), i. e. *used to distribute*. — *καὶ* (sc. *σκοπῶν*) ὅτου, *and taking into consideration that which* etc. To correspond with *πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἐκδότου*, one might expect *πρὸς τὴν ἐνδεῖαν ἐκδότου*, *having regard for the habits and the wants of each one*.

§ 23. *ὡς εἰς*, *intended for*, cf. 1, 8, 23. — *καλλωπισμόν*, personal adorning in distinction from the implements of warfare. — *λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν*, *they* (the persons from whom Xen. obtained his information; cf. 2, 1, 14; 2, 6, 10.) *affirmed that he used to say*. — *φίλους καλῶς κεκοσμημένους*, sc. *εἶναι*, *that friends well adorned were* etc.; cf. *νομίζω ὁμοῦ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*, 1, 3, 6.

§ 24. *τό* belongs to the whole member of the sentence ending with *ποιούντα*, the whole being the subject of *ἐστὶ* understood. — *τὰ μεγάλα*, adverbial, *greatly*. — *ταῦτα* is plural because two ideas precede:—*the fact that he surpassed his friends in care (for them), and (the fact that he surpassed them) in the desire to confer favors, these things* etc.

§ 25. Observe the difference in this section between *ἔπεμπε* and *ἔπεμψε*. — *λέγων*, *saying*, not in person, but by means of his servant who conveyed the present of wine. Cf. *ἔλεγε*, 1, 3, 8. — *τούτου ἡδίωνι*, *more delicious than this* (wine). — *ἔπεμψε*, observe here the transition from the *oratio obliqua* to the *oratio recta*. — *ἐκτείνει* from *ἐκτείνω*. — *σὺν οἷς* = *σὺν τοῖς*, *οἷς*. See Gr. § 332, 6. and the ex. *πρὸς οἷς ἐκτίσαντο*, Pl. Gorg. 519. a.

§ 26. *ἔρτων ἡμίσεια*, lit. *halves of loaves of bread*, i. e. *half loaves of bread*. For the government of *ἔρτων*, see Gr. § 264, Rem. 5. b. — *ἐν- in comp. with λέγειν* signifies, *in addition, besides*, i. e. *besides carrying the present*. — Observe the accentuation of *σέ*, Gr. § 85, Rem. 2. (b.) — *τούτων*, for the government, see Gr. § 273, 5. (c.)



§ 27. *πάν* is here placed after the adjective which it qualifies. This unusual position increases its force; cf. *λεχυρῶς*, 1, 2, 21 and 1, 7, 15. — *αὐτὸς . . . ἐπιμέλειαν* is parenthetical and hence the verb (*ἐβόησε*) is indic. instead of optat. — *καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*, and on account of their care (for him as prince). — *ὡς μὴ πενῶντες*, sc. *οἱ Ἰάπυοι*. — *ἔγνωσαν* instead of *ἔγνων*, another instance of transition to the *oratio recta*.

§ 28. *Ἑλλήνων* and *βαρβάρων*, depend on *οὐδένα*.

§ 29. *παρὰ μὲν*; we should expect here *παρὰ μὲν γάρ*, as introducing after *τεκμήριον* a statement of the proof; other instances however like this occur. — *δούλου ὄντος*, being a subject; cf. 2, 5, 38; 3, 1, 17. — *οὗτος*, i. e. Orontes. — *ὅν*, relating to *αὐτόν*, i. e. the faithful servant to whom Orontes had entrusted the letter to the king; cf. 1, 6, 8; *ὅν* being placed before its antecedent is made far more prominent in the sentence; cf. *οὗς αὐτοῖς*, 6, 4, 9. — *καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι*, and these indeed; *οἱ . . . ἀγαθόμενοι* in apposition with *οὗτοι*, and in the same construction with *πολλοί*. — *ἂν τυγχάνουσιν*, they would obtain etc., dependent on *νομίζοντες*.

§ 30. *τὸ . . . αὐτῷ γενόμενον*, that which happened to him (Cyrus) etc.; *μέγα τεκμήριον (ἦν) ὅτι κ.τ.λ.*, was a striking proof that etc.

§ 31. *παρ' αὐτόν*, near him, on his side. — *καὶ τὸ σὺν*; not simply alone but having also all the army which etc. Cf. *καὶ τοὺς ἀρμάτων πάντας ἔχων*, 3, 3, 2.

## CHAP. X.

Movements of both armies immediately after the death of Cyrus, at the close of the battle. The Persians, after plundering the camp of Cyrus, having advanced against the Greeks, retreat precipitately.

§ 1. *Κύρου . . . χεῖρ ἢ δεξιὰ*: Plutarch (Artax. 18) says this was done *κατὰ δὴ τινὰ νόμον Περσῶν*. Cf. 3, 1, 17. — *διώκων εἰσπύπτει* agrees with the principal subject, as *λαμβάνει* in § 2 below. — *οἱ μὲν*. To this corresponds that which in substance is contained in § 3, *οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες—ἀντιταχθέντες*. — *εἰς τὸν σταθμόν*: cf. 2, 1, 8; the station where they had last encamped. *στρατοπέδον*, the place where the attendants of the army remained during the battle.

§ 2. *Φωκαῖα*; from Phocaea in Ionia according to Athenaeus, 13. 576, *πρότερον Μιλήτῳ καλουμένην, Ἀσπασίαν μετενομασθῆναι*.

§ 3. *γυμνός*, like *nudus*, often means without the outer garment, clad only with the *χιτὼν*; cf. 4, 4, 12. — *πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ*: *πρὸς* governs the omitted antecedent of *οἱ* which would be *τούτους*: to those of the Greeks who etc. The omission of the antecedent in similar cases is extremely rare. — *οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν*, and some of them, i. e. the Greeks who had

arms in their camp. — ταύτην = τὴν Μιλησίαν. — ἄλλα ὅπου, the more common order would be ὅπου ἄλλα. — ἐντὸς αὐτῶν . . . ἐγένοντο, came within their reach. — The repetition of ἔσωσαν seems here to be emphatic, although similar repetitions occur where no special emphasis seems to be intended. Cf. ἀναβαίνει, ἀνέβη, 1, 1, 2; ἡγγελλον repeated, 1, 7, 13; ἀπεχώρει, ἀπεχώρησαν, 3, 4, 15; δεῖ repeated, 3, 4, 85.

§ 4. οἱ Ἕλληνες here denotes the main army of the Greeks; not the same that were mentioned in the last section. — οἱ μὲν here refers to οἱ Ἕλληνες. In like manner δὲ μὲν not unfrequently refers to the nearer, and δὲ δέ to the more remote object. — καθ' αὐτοὺς, opposite to themselves; cf. 1, 8, 21. — οἱ δέ instead of δὲ δέ because Xen. has in mind not merely βασιλεὺς, but also οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς. In a similar way, αὐτοὺς § 7, and οὗτος § 10 below. — ὥς ἤδη πάντες, as if already all, i. e. all the Persians, even those who were opposed to the Greeks and were already routed.

§ 5. εἶν and νικῶν, oratio obliqua. Observe the force of the imperf. optat. (νικῶν, were conquering), as distinguished from the aor. optat. — εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, forwards. — οἰχόνται, lit. have gone; pres. in form, perf. in meaning. One might expect the optat. to correspond with νικῶν. For a similar change, cf. τρέφονται and ἔχοιεν, 3, 5, 13; πέμπτει and φαίνοιστο, 2, 1, 2; τέθνηκεν and εἶν, 2, 1, 3. — ἐπὶ τὸ στρ. ἀρῆζοντες, to the camp to render assistance.

§ 6. καὶ βασιλεὺς, the king also; as the Greeks had purposed to attack him, so the king also was now coming to make an attack on them. — ὥς ἰδῶκει must be connected in idea simply with ὅπισθεν. — στραφέντες, having faced about; συστραφέντες (the reading of some editions) would signify, having brought their ranks together. — ὥς ταύτῃ προσιώντος, sc. βασιλέως: — καὶ connects here a particip. in the gen. with a particip. in the nominative. Not unfrequently καὶ and δέ and the corresponding negative connectives unite a gen. abs. with some other case of a particip.; cf. 5, 6, 32; 7, 1, 27. In 2, 4, 22, the case abs. is connected to a governed case. — § δὲ κ.τ.λ., (see 1, 8, 23.) but where he passed along etc. — καὶ τοὺς . . . αὐτομολήσαντας, and those who (being) over against the Greeks had deserted in the battle; cf. 2, 1, 6.

§ 7. δὴλασε, marched through. Tissaphernes being on the left wing of the Persians (1, 8, 9.) would be opposed to the right wing of the army of Cyrus. Here Clearchus was posted (1, 8, 4.); and on his right, the Grecian targeteer force (1, 8, 5.), which skilfully gave way so as to allow Tissaphernes to pass along between themselves and the river. Cf. 2, 3, 19. — Ἕλληνας, here used adjectively; cf. Θράκας and Κρήτας, 1, 2, 9. The names of nations with nouns denoting persons are often thus used. — κατέκαε from κατακαίω = κατακτείνω. — αὐτοὺς = Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς. Cf. note on οἱ δέ § 4 above. — Ἀμφιπολίτης, from

Amphipolis, a city in Thrace on the Strymon. — φρόνιμος γινέσθαι, *to have been prudent and skilful*, inasmuch as he contrived to avoid the overwhelming force of the enemy, receiving no harm from them, but inflicting considerable damage.

§ 8. ὥς . . . ἀπηλλόγη, *after he withdrew being worsted*. μῶν ἔχων, *to have less, to suffer disadvantage, to be worsted*. ἀπηλλόγη from ἀπαλλάσσω. — ἑμοῦ qualifies ἐπορεύοντο.

§ 9. τὸ ἐξόννυμον, the left, according to the first arrangement, but now, since the Greeks had faced about (§ 6 above), the right wing. — ἀνεπείσσειν (ἀνα- back, πτίσσειν, *to fold*) τὸ κέρας, *to bend the wing around*. By this movement the army would front the enemy, while the rear would rest on the river (πορῆσασθαι ὑπισθεν τὸν ποταμὸν, *lit. to make the river in the rear*).

§ 10. ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐβουλευόντο, *but while (the Greeks) were deliberating on these things*. The movement spoken of in the preceding section was only contemplated (ἐδόκει). — καὶ δῆ, *even now, nearly = ἤδη*. — παρὰ-μαρμάμενος, *having passed along by, = παρελθόν*. — ἄντιαν, sc. τοῦ Ἐλλικου. — εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, ὅσπερ, *in the same form, as etc.* — μαχομένους, fut. part., see Gr. § 154, 5. — ὄντας, sc. βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ; cf. οἱ δέ, § 4 above.

§ 11. ἐκ πλείους, *lit. from a greater distance, i. e. they began to flee at a point still farther from the Greeks*. — τὸ πρόσθεν, 1, 8, 19.

§ 12. ἀνεστράφεναν (ἀνά, back, or about, and στρέφω, *I turn*), *faced about*. — περὶ (in grammatical apposition with οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα) μὲν οὐκέτι, . . . δέ, *footmen no longer, but; or more clearly, not however footmen, but; οὐκέτι, non item, not after the same manner = but not, not however*. — ἐνεπλήσθη from ἐμπλήνυμι: for the gen. with this word, see Gr. § 273, 5. (b.) — τὸ ποιοῦμενον, much less frequent in this sense than τὸ γιγνόμενον, *that which was being done, or more simply, what was going on*. — ἐπὶ πέλγῃς, *on a spear*, in which signification the word πέλγη seldom occurs. Cf. Cyrop. 7, 1, 4. ἦν δὲ τῷ Κόρυ τὸ σημεῖον ἄετος ἐπὶ δόρυτος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένους (*with expanded wings*).

§ 13. ἐνταῦθα denotes more commonly rest in a place, but also very often motion to a place instead of ἐνταυθεῖ; so here. — ἄλλαι ἄλλοθεν expresses more briefly than our idiom will admit of the promiscuous dispersion of the horsemen; cf. Lat. *alii alio: some (went) one way, some another*; ἄλλοθεν (which means strictly, *from another place*) is here translated like ἄλλοσε, *to another place*, the writer assuming in mind for his stand-point the place towards which the enemy were fleeing. — ἐφίλοῦτε (from φιλόω); observe the force of the imperf., *was becoming bare*; ἐφιλώθη, *was made bare*, would be inconsistent with the next clause. — καὶ πάντες, *all also*; cf. 1, 8, 2.

§ 14. ἀνεβίβαζεν, sc. τὸ στράτευμα, *did not conduct* (the army) *upon* etc. — ὠρὲ αὐτὸν; an expression implying motion with a verb of rest. The idea is, *conducting the army to the foot of it* (the hill), and *commanding it to halt, he sends* etc. — καλεῖται, sc. αὐτοῦς. — κατιδόντας . . . τί ἐστὶν, lit. *having looked down on the things beyond the hill, what (there) is*; τί in the sing. denotes the complete view of the several objects denoted by τὰ; cf. τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν, 2, 1, 22.

§ 15. σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε, *and about the time when*. — καὶ ἥλιος ἐθετο, *the sun also was setting*; ἥλιος often stands without the article, when the Eng. idiom requires it; so also other objects and appearances in nature which are from their very character single; cf. ὀφραυῖ, 4, 2, 2; ἥλιος, 5, 7, 6; βορέας and νότος, 5, 7, 7.

§ 16. ἅμα μὲν. Instead of a corresponding ἅμα δέ, the construction is changed, owing to the introduction of explanatory clauses, and we have in the correlative sentence § 17. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλεύοντο κ.τ.λ. — αὐτὸν τε-θησάμενα, Gr. § 810, 4. (a.) — καταληφμένον τι, *to seize upon something*, perhaps some important military point. — προεληλακέναι, *had marched forward*; from προελάνω.

§ 17. αὐτοί, *they themselves*, they on their part in contradistinction from Cyrus. — αὐτοῦ, adv. *there*; ἐνταῦθα, cf. § 18 above, with note. — αὐτοῖς ἀπέραι, *that they themselves should go away*, in opposition to the idea of bringing the baggage to them; were there no antithesis implied, αὐτοῖς would be unnecessary. — δόρηστον, chiefly poetic, instead of δεῖπνον.

§ 18. ταύτης μὲν . . . ἐγένετο, *such was the end of this day*. An eventful day; and destined to exert an important influence on the future history of the world. For on that day the Greeks learned their superiority to the Persians, even in the heart of the empire. The conquests of Alexander, with all of their weighty results, may be traced directly to the lesson which was learned in the battle of Cunaxa. — τὰ . . . καὶ, *not only, but especially*. Gr. § 321, 1. (c.) — μεσάς: οὐσας is here omitted; cf. ἄμετρον, sc. ὅν, 3, 2, 16; and ὀρθία, sc. οὐσα, 4, 1, 20. — ὡς ἐλέγοντο has respect to the preceding word. The personal instead of the more common impersonal construction is used here. Cf. ἐδόκειν, 1, 4, 7. — καὶ ταύτας repeats with emphasis the idea of τὰς ἀμάξας: *even these*.

§ 19. καταλύσαι, cf. 1, 8, 1. — For the meaning of ἐριστον and δεῖπνον, see Dic. Antiqq. art. coena.

## BOOK SECOND.

Ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνηι ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς.—Movements of the Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, until the treaty which they ratified with the Persians was broken.

## CHAP. I.

Negotiations of the Greeks with Ariaeus, Persian commander under Cyrus, to whom they offer the throne of Persia; and of Artaxerxes with the Greeks whom he attempts in vain either to overreach or to intimidate.

§ 1. A recapitulation of the principal events in the last book. — Ὡς μὲν οὖν, *How therefore*; μὲν, correlative with δέ § 2. — Κύρῳ, dat. com. Gr. § 284, 8, Rem. 4. — ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ = ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει, (3, 1, 1.); cf. note on ἔσω 1, 2, 1. — ἐλθόντες, *having gone back*; cf. ἐλθεῖν, 5, 7, 15; also ἤξω, 2, 1, 9; ἤκε, 2, 1, 15; ἤκου, 2, 3, 6. — τὰ πάντα, see Gr. § 246, 5. (β.) — νικᾶν, does not mean *that they were conquering*; but rather, *that they have conquered, that they are victorious*. In this sense it is often used; cf. 1, 8, 12; 1, 10, 4. Gr. § 255, Rem. 1. Krüger takes τὰ πάντα as subject-accus. of νικᾶν, but it seems much more natural to take it as the object. See Gr. § 278, 2. — δεδῆλωται has for its subject the several clauses introduced by ὥς.

§ 2. ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, *at break of day*; ἅμα is often thus used as a preposition. Gr. § 289, Rem. — σηματοῦντα, fut. act. particip. denoting purpose, from σημαίνειν. — αὐτός, *ipse*, always intensive in the nominative without the article. — πέμπτει—φαίνοιτο. The same change of mood occurs § 3, τέθηκεν—εἶη. — εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, cf. 1, 10, 5. — συμμίζειν, *should join with*; μίγνυμι is again used intransitively in 2, 3, 19, and in 3, 5, 16.

§ 3. ἐν ὁρμῇ, *in the act of setting out*. — ὕντων, gen. abs.; sc. αὐτῶν; cf. προϊόντων, 1, 2, 17. — ἅμα ἥλιῳ ἀνίσχοντι, *at sun-rising*, denoting a time later than ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ; for ἥλιος without the article, see note 1, 10, 15. — Touthrania was in Aeolis not far from Halisarna (7, 8, 17.), opposite the island of Lesbos according to the conjecture of Kiepert. It had been given by Darius to the Spartan king Damaratus, after he had been driven from Sparta by the intrigues of king Cleomenes. — γεγονός ἀπό, *descended from*; for another construction, see 1, 1, 1. — Γλοῦς connected by καί to Προκλῆς. — Ταμώ, gen., Att. 2d declens. —

τέθνηκεν . . . εἴη; the indic. is more positive than the optat.; the death of Cyrus therefore is reported as a fixed fact. — ἐν τῇ σταθμῇ must be connected with εἴη, as πεφυγός would require εἰς τὸν σταθμόν. — τῇ προτεραίᾳ, sc. ἡμέρᾳ. — τῇ ἄλλῃ, on the other = on the next (day); cf. 3, 4, 1; in this sense τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ is more common. — λόγοι and φαίη, sc. Ἀριαῖος. — ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, towards Ionia. For the difference between ἐπὶ with the gen. and ἐπὶ with the accus., see Gr. § 273, Rem. 8.

§ 4. Ἄλλ', cf. note 1, 7, 6. — ὥφελε . . . ζῆν, would that Cyrus were alive. For the precise meaning of this form of wish, see Gr. § 259, Rem. 6; ὥφελε, 2d aor. of ὀφείλω. — ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, not expressed in the nom. except for some particular emphasis or for perspicuity. Gr. § 302, 1. Yet cf. note § 12 below. — καθιεῖν, Att. fut. infin. of καθίζω, to cause to sit down, i. e. to set, to place. See Gr. § 117.

§ 5. τοὺς ἀγγέλους; those mentioned in § 3 above. — ἐβούλετο, sc. ἀποστείλεσθαι.

§ 6. οἱ μὲν, an asyndeton for καὶ οἱ μὲν; cf. 1, 2, 25. For the general subject of asyndeton, see Gr. § 325. — κόπτοντες refers to στράτευμα as a collective noun. — ξύλοις, for wood, in apposition with οἰστοῖς κ.τ.λ. — οὗ, to the place where. — ἐκβάλλειν, to cast away, probably from their quivers. The deserters from the king were retaken; cf. 1, 10, 6. — ἦσαν φέρεσθαι, there were to be brought, i. e. which might be brought (for fuel). — ἔρημοι, empty, because they had been plundered; 1, 10, 18. — κρέα belongs as object both to ἐφέροντες and ἥσθιον.

§ 7. οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, . . . δέ, the others barbarians, . . . but. — ἐντίμως ἔχων = ἐντίμος ὢν. — τῶν ἀμφὶ κ.τ.λ., in those things pertaining to etc.; depends on ἐπιστήμων, Gr. 273, 5. (e.) — τάξεις τε καὶ ὅπλα-μαχίαν. The former denotes the act of drawing up the lines; the latter, the various exercises pertaining to a battle, (strictly as the etymology imports, a battle with heavy armor.)

§ 8. νικῶν τυγχάνει. For the construction, cf. note on παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, 1, 1, 2. — ἰόντας ἐπὶ . . . θύρας, going to the doors of the king; a common form of expression to denote the suit of the poor and the weak before the rich and the powerful; cf. 1, 2, 11. — εὐρίσκεισθαι, to try to obtain; cf. 7, 1, 31. — ἂν δύνανται, if they can, sc. obtain any advantage; ἀγαθόν belongs as a complement with εὐρίσκεισθαι and also with the conditional clause.

§ 9. ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος, but Clearchus nevertheless, i. e. although he was equally indignant with the others. — οὐ; the position of the negative, not before εἴη but before τῶν νικάντων, should be noticed: to deliver up their arms belonged not to the victorious, implying the antithesis ἀλλὰ τῶν ἡττημένων. — ἔφη, continued he; a common use of the word. Cf. 3, 2, 9; 3, 3, 12; 3, 5, 6. — ἔχετε, sc. ἀποκρίνεσθαι. — ἔξω, will return; cf.

note on ἐλθόντες, 2, 1, 1. — τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα (from ἐξαίρει), the entrails which had been taken out (from the victim); since from the entrails, especially from the liver, they supposed future events might be known. — δυνόμενος, sacrificing, the mid. voice adds the idea, for himself, i. e. as the word often means, to take the auspices. Cf. 1, 7, 18.

§ 10. Κλεόνωρ, doubtless the same who in 2, 5, 37. is called an Orchomenian and a general. See note 1, 2, 9. — πρόσθεν . . . παραδοίησαν, they would sooner die than deliver up their arms; a familiar idiom in many languages; παραδοίησαν: with the exception of the common word εἶησαν (see 1, 1, 5.) this is an extremely rare form of the optat. of verbs in -μι, instead of παραδοίην. — θαυμάζω, πότερα, I wonder whether. This verb often contains in itself not only the notion of wonder, but also of desire to know, and hence may be followed by an indirect question. — θάρρα, sc. αἰεῖ. — εἰ μὲν γάρ, sc. αἰεῖ. — καὶ . . . ἐλθόντα, and not (much rather) to come and take (them); lit. having come to take.

§ 11. αὐτῷ, sc. τῷ βασιλεῖ, depends on ἀντιστοιχείται, perhaps as dat. in-oom.; Gr. § 284, Rem. 4; for who is there that lays claim to the government against him? — ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, belong to himself, i. e. are his property. — ἔχων, sc. θυμῶς. — μέσση, cf. μέσση, 1, 2, 7. — καὶ . . . ἐντός, and (having you) within etc. — οὐδ', εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, not even if he should give them up to you, sc. to be slain; i. e. should they not fight at all, there would be too many even for the Greeks to slaughter.

§ 12. ὡς τὸ δρῆς, the personal pronoun stands here, as elsewhere sometimes, with a very slight emphasis. Examples of this sort are found chiefly in clauses introduced by a relative adverb or pronoun; cf. ὅσους σὸ δρῆς § 16 below; also ὡς ἐγὼ, 2, 2, 3. — ἄν; the first belongs to χρῆσθαι; the second, to στερηθῆναι. — παραδώσειν, sc. ἡμῶς as subject: that we shall deliver up to you etc. — σὺν τούτοις = ταῦτα ἔχοντες (§ 20 below), not exactly the same as τοῖσις (dative of instrument). Cf. 3, 2, 8.

§ 13. φιλοσόφῃ, used here in contempt, as of one who does not recognize the actual, but sees only the imaginary. — ἔοικας, you resemble; for the forms of this verb, see Gr. § 195, 2. — οὐκ ἀχάριστα, what is not unpleasing, ironical. — ἴσθι . . . ὦν, be assured that you are, Gr. § 310, 4. (a.) — αἰεῖ, the form always used by Attic writers as 2d pers. sing. of οἶμαι; cf. βοῦλει and ὕψει from βούλομαι and ὑφομαι. Gr. § 116, 11.

§ 14. ἔφασαν, cf. note, 1, 9, 28. — ὡς καὶ . . . ἐγένοντο καὶ . . . ἂν . . . γένοιτο, that they both were . . . and might become . . .; see Gr. § 321, 1. — πολλοῦ, see note on 1, 8, 12. — εἴτε . . . εἴτε, whether . . . or. — ἄλλο τι, in something else, as distinguished from an expedition to Egypt. — συγκαταστρέψαντο (comp. σὺν, κατὰ, στρέφω) ἂν αὐτῷ, they would together with him subjugate (it).

§ 15. *ἑπολαβὼν εἶπεν*, *breaking in, said*. — *Οἱτοὶ . . . ἄλλος ἄλλὰ λέγει*; the verb agrees with *ἄλλος* which is in apposition with *οἱτοὶ*; cf. the construction of *ἐπορεύετο*, 1, 8, 9; we may render, *of these, one says one thing, another (says) another*. — *τί λέγεις*, *what you propose*.

§ 16. *ἔσμενος* is much more common than *ἐσμένως*, where an adverb might be expected. Cf. *ἐκόν, ἔκων, ἐθελοῦσιος, ἀκούσιος*. — *οἶμαι* often stands as here without any influence on the construction; still, the accus. *τοὺς ἄλ. πάντας*, would be admissible; cf. Plat. Prot. 814, b. *οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Πρόδικον κ.τ.λ.*; with the construction of *οἶμαι* here, compare *εὖ ἴσθι* and similar expressions. — *οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες*, sc. *σε ἔσμενοι ἐσώκασιν*. — *ἡμεῖς*, sc. *Ἕλληνες ἔσμεν*. — *περὶ ὧν = περὶ τούτων δ.*

§ 17. *πρὸς θεῶν*, *in the presence of the gods*, a solemn form of asseveration. Gr. § 298, 1. (2.) (c.) — *ἀναλεγόμενον*, expresses no fitting idea, says Hertlein; Krüger translates it with *eis τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον*, *when handed down to coming time*, making *ἀναλεγόμενον* agree with *δ*; but such a meaning of the word, he says, is not to be found elsewhere, at least in Attic writers. Hence various conjectural readings have been proposed;—e. g. *ἂν λεγόμενον*, *should it be reported*; *ἀναγγελλόμενον*, *being announced*; *πάντα λεγόμενον*, in which case *λεγόμενον* would agree with *χρόνον*, *time*, *that tells all things*. — *ξύν*, older Attic form of *σύν*. — *συμβουλευομένοις ἐμβέβλευσεν αὐτοῖς*, *advised them on consulting with him*; the marked difference between the act. and mid. will not escape notice.

§ 18. *ταῦτα ὑπήγγετο*, briefly expressed, says Hertlein, for *ταῦτα λέγων ὑπήγγετο*, *in these things he made an artful suggestion to lead* (Phalinnus) on. — *ὑποστρέφας*, *having artfully turned*. The notion, *artful, sly*, in both of these verbs, is expressed by *ὑπό*. — *παρά*, *contrary to*. — *αὐτοῦ*, i. e. *τοῦ Κλεόρχου*. It will be perceived that Greek met Greek in this interview.

§ 19. *τῶν μυρίων*. For the article here, cf. 1, 7, 10, and Gr. § 246, 9. — *σωθῆναι*, depends on *ἐλπιδῶν*, *hopes of being saved*. After *ἐλπίς ἐστιν* the infin. aor. is not unfrequently used without *ἂν*, denoting a future event; less frequently after *ἐλπίζειν*. — *πολεμοῦντας* agrees with the implied subject of *σωθῆναι*. The dat. agreeing with *ὑμῖν* would also have been grammatical; cf. note on *λαβόντα*, 1, 2, 1. — *ἕκοντος*, cf. note 1, 3, 17. — *ἕκρ δυνατόν*, lit. *in what way it is possible*, i. e. *in the best way possible*.

§ 20. *ταῦτα* as usual referring to what precedes, *τάδε* to what follows. — *φίλους εἶναι*, sc. *ἡμᾶς*. — *πλείονος . . . φίλοι*, dependent on *οἶδεθα*, *we might be more valuable friends*, sc. *ἡμεῖς* (which however could not properly be expressed); for the nominative with the infin., see Gr. § 307, 4. — *πολεμεῖν*, also dependent on *οἶδεθα*. This reply is worthy of the Laconian Clearchus.



§ 21. μένουσι αὐτοῦ, sc. ὑμῶν, *to you (on condition of your) remaining here.* — εἴησαν, see note on παραβολήσαν § 10 above. — προῖοῦσι καὶ ἀπιῶσι, sc. ὑμῶν; — πόλεμος, sc. εἴη. — εἴπατε: for those parts of the 1st aor. of this word which are used in preference to the 2d aor., see Gr. § 167, 7. — περὶ τούτου, *concerning this*, i. e. the last point proposed by the king. — πότερα . . . εἰσω, lit. *whether you will remain and there is a treaty to you*, i. e. *whether you will remain and have peace.* — ὡς πολέμου ὕπνος, *on the supposition that war exists*; gen. abs. with ὡς.

§ 22. ἔπερ καὶ. When two ideas, expressed in a demonstrative and relative clause, are compared, the Eng. word *also* is regularly placed only in the demonstrative clause, but the Greek word καὶ stands also in the relative clause, sometimes even when it is not expressed in the demonstrative; cf. καὶ before ἑμεῖς 1, 3, 6. Consequently in translating, we cannot well render καὶ in the relative clause: *to us also the same things seem expedient as to the king.* — τί ταῦτα, cf. note 1, 10, 14. — ἀπεκρίνατο, notice the asyndeton. — σπονδαί, sc. εἰσω.

§ 23. ταῦτά, do not confound with ταῦτα. — With μένουσιν and the other participles in the dat. plur., understand ἡμῶν. The diplomacy of Clearchus appears to be quite a match for that of Artaxerxes.

## CHAP. II.

The Greeks joining Ariaeus resolve to return with him to Ionia. After a day's march, they arrive at some Babylonian villages. In the night, they are seized with a groundless panic, which is allayed through an ingenious plesantry of Clearchus.

§ 1. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου; see 2, 1, 3 and 5. — αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ, *where with Ariaeus*; αὐτοῦ is often in this way more exactly defined by a preposition with its case, cf. 4, 3, 6; 4, 3, 28; 4, 2, 22. — βελτίους, *better*, i. e. in respect to birth and rank. — οὐς (sc. φαίη) . . . βασιλεύοντες, *who would not endure his being king*; we should expect here instead of the accus. and infin. οἱ οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχῶντο κ.τ.λ.; but in indirect narration (oratio-obliqua) we sometimes find the infin. after a relative pronoun, also after ὡς, ὅτε, ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδή. Cf. 5, 7, 18. See Gr. § 345, 6; αὐτοῦ depends on ἀνασχέσθαι, Gr. § 275, 1. — κελεύει, sc. ὑμᾶς. — αὐτός belongs to the subject of ἀπέραι, *that he himself will go away.* Gr. § 307, 4.

§ 2. οὕτως regularly refers to what precedes; but it denotes what follows when used as a correlative before ὅτε or ὅστις, and also before an epexegetical clause; as here. Cf. 4, 6, 10; 5, 6, 12 and 32. — ποιεῖν, sc. ὑμᾶς. — Before ὥστερ λέγετε, understand, from the foregoing, χρὴ

ποιεῖν. — οὐδὲ τοῦτοις, *not even to these*, as he had also concealed his intention from Phalinus and his fellow ambassadors, 2, 1, 28.

§ 3. *ἵεναι* depends not on *δυομένων*, but on *οὐκ ἐγγίγντο τὰ ἱερὰ*, sc. *καλὰ*, cf. 6, 6, 36; 7, 2, 17; *καλὰ* is omitted with *γίγνεσθαι* also in 6, 4, 13, and 16, and 17, and 19, and 25; and in 6, 5, 2. — *ἔρα*, *manifestly*; it is used similarly in 4, 2, 15. — *οὐ μὲν δὴ*, cf. note 1, 9, 13. — *οἶον τε*, *possible*, sc. *ἔστι*; *οἶος* with *τε* annexed has regularly the meaning, *able, possible*; and it often stands as here without the verb. — *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*, *the requisite means of subsistence*. — *ἔστιν*, see Gr. § 35, 1. — *ἵεναι*, dependent on *καλὰ*.

§ 4. *δειπνεῖν*, exegetical of *ᾧδε ποιεῖν*, and governed in the same way. — *δειπνεῖν—οὐσκευάζεσθε*, a transition from *χρῆ* with the infin. to the imperative, as in § 2, *χρῆ ποιεῖν—πράττετε*. — *σημήνην*, sc. *ὁ σαλπικτήης* as it is ordinarily explained; cf. *ἐσάλπιγγε* 1, 2, 17. — *ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι*, as *if to rest*; *ὡς* denotes that the signal was given only as a pretence to deceive the enemy. — *ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ*, *on the third* (signal). — *τῷ ἡγουμένῳ* is neuter (cf. 2, 4, 26); *the part* (of the army) *taking the lead*. — *πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, *near or next* (*πρὸς*) *from the* (denoted by the gen.), *in the next place this side of the river*, or more freely, *on the side towards the river*. Gr. § 298, 1. (1.) — *τὰ δπλα*, by a common meton. for *τοὺς δπλίτας*.

§ 5. *τὸ λοιπόν*, *as to the rest*, i. e. *from that time forth*. — *ἤρχεν* is spoken of the chief command. — *οὐχ ἐλόμενοι*, *not having chosen him for the commander in chief*. — *δεῖ τὸν ἔρχοντα*, sc. *φρονεῖν*.

§ 6. As Krüger remarks, this section is wholly out of place here; like a considerable number of similar passages it is very likely an interpolation from some other work. — *ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ*, *a reckoning of the way*; cf. *πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ*, 5, 5, 4. — *μάχη*, *battle-field*, so in 5, 5, 4. — *σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνεήκοντα*: only eighty-four stations from Sardis to the battle-field are mentioned in the first book, but it will be perceived that the distance from Ephesus purports to be given here. — *ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι*, cf. note 1, 8, 2.

§ 7. *τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν*, mentioned 1, 2, 9, as being in all 800 peltasts. The Thracian horsemen are mentioned in 1, 5, 13. — *ὑπομόλησε* from *αὐτομολέω*.

§ 8. *κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα*, *according to the directions which had been announced*, § 4 above. — *τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιάν* = *τὴν στρατιάν αὐτοῦ*, only that *ἐκείνου* is more emphatic than *αὐτοῦ*; *ἐκείνος* not unfrequently as here refers to an object in immediate proximity with it, instead of denoting an object somewhat remote; cf. 1, 2, 15; 1, 3, 1; 1, 8, 26. — *μέσας νύκτας*, cf. note 1, 7, 1. — *ἐν τάξει*, a construction denoting rest with a verb of motion; instead of which one might expect *εἰς τάξιν* (cf. 2, 2, 21; 5, 4, 11). But *ἐν* and the dat. with a verb of motion involves

the idea of the rest which succeeds, an idea not distinctly suggested with *eis* and the accus.; cf. Gr. § 300, 8. (a.) — *δέμενοι*, sc. *οἱ Ἕλληνες*, not simply *οἱ στρατηγοί*. Cf. note on *μαχόμενοι*, 1, 8, 27. — *δέμεναι τὰ ὅπλα*, cf. note 1, 5, 14. — *μήτε—τε*; so in Latin sometimes *neque—et*: may be rendered, *not only not—but also*; cf. 2, 5, 4; 3, 1, 30; 4, 3, 6. — *προσέμοσαν*, *swore in addition* (*προς—*).

§ 9. Demosthenes (28, 68) mentions *κάπρος*, *κρίος*, and *ταῦρος* as being used for a solemn sacrifice; compare also the *suovetaurilia* of the Romans. The wolf seems to have been added to the sacrifice as an animal held sacred among the Persians to Ahriman, the god of darkness. — *εἰς ἀσπίδα*, so that the blood-ran into the shield (Hertlein); cf. *εἰς τὸν ποταμόν*, 4, 3, 18. For the form of the *ἀσπίς*, see Dic. Antiqq. art. *Clipeus*.

§ 10. *Ἄγε δὴ, come now, age vero.* — *ἔπιμεν* (sc. *τὴν ὁδόν*) *ἤνπερ ἤλθομεν*, *shall we withdraw by the way that we came etc.* For the government of *ἤνπερ*, see Gr. § 278, 1, 2.

§ 11. *ἀπιδόντες* sc. *τὴν ὁδόν*: also, with *μακροτέραν* below, understand *ὁδόν*. — *ὅπό* with the gen. (when not used in a local sense) denotes regularly the agent or doer; then also the acting cause; cf. 1, 5, 5. — *ἑπτακαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.*, *for in seventeen of the nearest marches*; *σταθμῶν* denotes here the notion of time within which something takes place, and hence is put in the gen. Gr. § 273, 4. (b.) — *οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες*, *not even in coming hither etc.*; much less would they be able to obtain provisions from the same country in a second march over the same route. — *ἐνθα* is either a demonstrative or a relative adverb; here the latter: *but where there was any thing, we etc.* — *ἀπορήσομεν*, instead of *ἀπορεῖν* by a change of construction similar to the one in 1, 3, 15., *πελίσσομαι* instead of *πεισόμενον*.

§ 12. *πορευτέον*; for the construction of the verbal in *τέος*, see Gr. § 284, 3. (12.) — *ἀποσπασθῶμεν*, Gr. § 130. (c), *σπάω*. — *ἔπαξ*, cf. note 1, 9, 10. — *οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται*. The strengthened negation *οὐ μὴ* takes almost always the subjunct. aor. or fut. indic.; here by the use of *δύνηται* the fut. event is contemplated as already present. — *σπανιεῖ* Att. fut. from *σπανίζω*; cf. *καθιεύω*, 2, 1, 4. — *ταύτην* is here a predicate: *this as my opinion*.

§ 13. *ἦν δυναμένη*, *signified, meant*; the particip. with *ἦν* is considered = *ἐδύνατο*; cf. 6, 1, 6, *ἦν πεπονθώς*, and 6, 4, 24, *βεβηθηκότες ἦσαν*. — *ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν*, *than to escape by secret or by open flight*. Cf. 1, 4, 8. — *ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχ- τὸν ἥλιον*, i. e. towards the north, since it was not far from the autumnal equinox, when the sun rises exactly in the east.

§ 14. *τοῦτο, in this*; cf. 1, 8, 11. — *ἔτι δέ, furthermore*. — *ἔδοξαν δρᾶν*, *they imagined they saw*. — *τῶν Ἑλλήνων* depends on the subject

of *ἔθεον*, the antecedent of *οἱ*, *those of the Greeks who* etc. — *ἐπέτρετο*, Gr. § 161, 22.

§ 15. *εἰσὶν . . . νέμονται*. For a similar change of mood, cf. 2, 1, 2 and 3; 3, 5, 18; 4, 5, 10 and 28. — *νέμονται* with the neut. plur., cf. *ἦσαν*, 1, 2, 23. — *ιστρατοπεδεύετο*, the mood but not the tense of the *oratio recta* is here retained; cf. *ἦν*, 1, 2, 21; *ἐφρόνει* and *ἦσαν*, 2, 2, 5; *ἦσαν*, etc. 3, 1, 2; *εἶχεν*, 7, 8, 2. — *καὶ γὰρ καὶ*, *etenim etiam*, unusual in Attic writers; and (the king was doubtless encamped somewhere near) *for a smoke also* etc.

§ 16. *ἀπειρηκός* (ἀπό, *έρηκα*), fut. ἀπερώξ. aor. ἀπέειπον; in 1, 5, 3, ἀπαγορεύω is used as a corresponding pres., *wearied out, exhausted*. — *ὄντας* after a *verbum sentiendi*, Gr. § 810, 4. (a.) — *εὐθύωρον*, *forthwith*, an unusual word. — *ἄγων* (and above *ἦγεν*) used absolutely, *marching*. — *τοὺς πρώτους*, *the first, the foremost*, i. e. *the van*. — *καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ξύλα*, *even the very timbers*. — *τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα*, an abbreviated expression which we can easily render into English; expressed in full = *τὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ξύλα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν διήρπαστο κ.τ.λ.*; cf. *τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων* = *τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλ.* 1, 2, 3; *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως* = *τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ παρὰ βασιλέως*, 1, 1, 5. See Gr. § 800, 4.

§ 17. *ὅμως*, *nevertheless*, notwithstanding the fact that the villages were plundered and laid waste by the king. — *σκοταῖοι προσιώντες*, *coming up in the darkness*; adjectives denoting time very often, those denoting place less frequently, stand instead of adverbs. Gr. § 264, 3; so also in Latin, And. & St. Gr. § 215, Rem. 15. — *ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι*, *as they severally happened*, sc. *αὐλιζόμενοι*. — *κραυγὴν ἐποίουν*; one would sooner expect *ἐποιούντο*, yet the act. is found with *κραυγὴν*, Cyr. 3, 1, 4; Hel. 6, 4, 16. — *δοτε* followed by the indic., denoting an actual consequence or result, may be rendered *wherefore*. Cf. note 1, 7, 7.

§ 18. *ἐξεπλάγη* from *ἐκπλήσσω*. — *καὶ βασιλεὺς*, *the king also*; not simply *οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων* § 17. — *οἷς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε*, *by what he did on the next day*. See 2, 3, 1.

§ 19. *οἶον*, sc. *θύρυβον καὶ δοῦπον*, the subject of *γίγνεσθαι*, dependent on *εἰκός*, sc. *ἔστι*, *such as it is natural should arise* etc.

§ 20. *τῶν τότε*, sc. *κηρύκων*. — *τοῦτον*, in apposition with *Ταλμίδην*, is expressed for the sake of perspicuity on account of the intervening clause. Cf. *καὶ πάντας*, 1, 10, 18; *ταύτην*, 2, 5, 11. — *σιγὴν κατακηρύξαντα*; heralds always proclaimed silence before they made any announcement. Cf. Hel. 2, 4, 20. — *τὸν ἀφέντα . . . ὄπλα*, *the one who let loose the ass among the heavy armor*; *τόν* before *ὄνον* implies that the ass had been the cause of the uproar,—a joke invented by Clearchus to quell the panic. — *τὰ ὄπλα* denotes here the place (the front of the camp) where the arms were stacked. Cf. 2, 4, 15; 3, 1, 33; 5, 7, 21.

§ 21. *ἔπερ*, in *what manner*, *as*. — *εἶχον*, used absolutely, *they had themselves, they were drawn up*. Cf. 6, 4, 11, *εἶχε*; Cyr. 6, 3, 21, *ἔχετε*.

## CHAP. III.

Further negotiations between the Persians and Greeks, ending in a treaty, the terms of which were that the Persians should faithfully conduct the Greeks back to Ionia, providing them with a market; and that the Greeks in turn should purchase their supplies or obtain them without damage to the country.

§ 1. "Ο . . . *ἔγραψα*, 2, 2, 18. — *τῇδε*, in the following manner. — *πέμπων*, without object (*ἀγγέλους*) as often; cf. 1, 1, 8; 3, 1, 27. — *ἥλις*, see notes 1, 10, 15.

§ 2. *ἔχρι ἂν σχολάζω*, instead of *ἔχρι σχολάσειεν*, as the clause depends on a historic tense of the indic. *until he should be at leisure*; a haughty reply, but it appears from the context to have been well-timed, and judicious.

§ 3. *δοτε . . . πυκνήν*. In this clause, Hertlein proposes to govern *δρᾶσθαι* by *πυκνήν*, but acknowledges that the position is unusual. Krüger supplies *καί* before *δρᾶσθαι*. Why not govern *δρᾶσθαι* by *καλῶς* (Gr. § 306, 1. (d.)? and render, *so that it presented a fine appearance* (lit. *so that it was beautiful to be seen*) (being) on all sides a dense phalanx. Instead of *δρᾶσθαι*, the act. *δρᾶν* with this construction would be more common. Gr. § 306, Rem. 10. — *μηδένα* rather than *οὐδένα* because *δοτε* is here followed by the infin.; cf. note 1, 7, 7.

§ 4. *πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις*, near the messengers. Gr. § 298. II. — *ἄνδρες . . . ἔσονται*, being men who were competent etc. — *ἔσονται*, the form of the *oratio recta*, in the midst of oblique narration. Many instances of this sort have already been noticed.

§ 5. *ἄριστον . . . ἔστιν*, for there is not a breakfast. — *οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων*, nor is he the person that will dare etc. — *μὴ πορίσας*: the participle with *μὴ* denotes a condition. Gr. § 318, 5.

§ 6. *ἦκον*, came back; cf. *ἦξω*, 2, 1, 9; *ἐλθόντες*, 2, 1, 1. — *ῥ*, by which, wherefore. — *εἰκότα*, things that were reasonable. — *δοκοῖεν* has the same subject as *ἔλεγον*; *ἦκοιεν* (like *ἦκον*), had come back. — *ἐὰν . . . γένωνται*, fut. perf. in meaning. Gr. § 255, Rem. 9. — *ἐνθεν* = *ἐκεῖσε ἐνθεν*, to that place from which; cf. *δοεν*, 1, 3, 17.

§ 7. *ὁ δὲ*, i. e. Clearchus. — *σπένδοιτο*, should conclude a treaty. — *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι*, with the men themselves, with the men alone, to the exclusion of those whom they represented. As this expression is not sufficiently defined, an exegetical clause is added, *τοῖς ἰούσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν*, those coming

and going away, i. e. the Persian commissioner. — *ἔπαιον*, sc. *ἔσονται σπονδαί*. In this whole conference, Clearchus affects for himself and the Greeks a perfect indifference to the treaty; thus placing the king as far as possible in the attitude of a suppliant.

§ 8. *μεταστησόμενος*, *having removed*. Notice the force of *μετά* in composition; L. & S., sub voce, G. IN COMPOS. VIII. — *ἔδοκει*, *it seemed* (expedient). — *καθ' ἡσυχίαν*, *quietly*, i. e. undisturbed by the enemy. — *ἐπεί*, *after*, i. e. in order to get and bring; cf. 5, 1, 5; 6, 2, 2; 7, 6, 2 and 8. In the next section, *πρός* means simply *to*.

§ 9. *ἀν δκρήσασιν*, *shall have become uneasy, afraid*. — *ἀποδόξῃ*, *it may seem inexpedient*. — *ποήσασθαι*. With verbs containing the notion of *fearing, hindering, denying, refusing* (here *ἀποδόξῃ*), the accompanying infin. regularly takes the negative. Cf. 1, 8, 2. See Gr. § 818, 8; there are however many exceptions to this rule, as here; after *κωλύει*, *μή* is more frequently omitted.

§ 10. *τάφροις καὶ αὐλώσιν*, *ditches and canals*; the latter denoting something larger than the former. These had been made for the purpose of irrigating the land; cf. § 13 below. — *ὥς* = *ὥστε* as in 1, 5, 10. — *διαβάσεις* as distinguished from *γέφυραι*, regularly constructed *bridges*, denotes a temporary means of crossing; and may be rendered here *temporary bridges*; cf. 3, 5, 9. — *τοὺς δέ*, *but others*, corrects the too general statement of *ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες*; they used not simply the palm-trees which were already fallen, but they also cut some down. Cf. *οἱ δὲ καί*, 1, 5, 13; and note on 5, 4, 81.

§ 11. *Κλέαρχον . . . ἐπεσάττει*, lit. *to learn Clearchus how he governed*, by anticipation (*πρόληψις*) for *καταμαθεῖν ὡς Κλέαρχος ἐπεσάττει*, *to learn how Clearchus governed*. Cf. 1, 1, 5, note on *τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο κ.τ.λ.* — *βακτηρίαν*. Flogging was not uncommon in the Spartan armies, and hence the Spartan generals were in the habit of carrying a stick. Cf. *πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν*, 1, 5, 11. — *πρὸς τοῦτο*, i. e. *διαβάσεις ποιεῖσθαι*. — *τὸν ἐπιτήδειον*, *the one who deserved* (it, i. e. *παλεσθαι*). — *ἔπαισεν ἂν*, cf. note on *ἀν ἀφείλετο*, 1, 9, 19. — *μή* is here prefixed to *οὐ συσπουδάσειν* on account of the notion of *refusing* implied in *ἀσχύνην εἶναι*. Gr. § 318, 8. The Eng. idiom does not admit of our rendering it.

§ 12. *οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες*, *those who had become thirty years of age*, including without doubt all the soldiers who were younger than that. Hence Krüger's conjecture *οἱ εἰς* or *οἱ οὐκ ὄντα τρ. ἔτ. γεγ.* is very probably the true reading.

§ 13. *ὥς τὸ πεδίον ἔρδειν*, *such as to, or suited to irrigating the plain*. It was now near the middle of autumn. The fields were irrigated in the summer to prepare them for the sowing in the early autumn. — *ἀφείκαται* (from *ἀφίημι*), in like manner we say in English *to have let* etc.

§ 14. οἶνος φουίκαν, cf. 1, 5, 10. — ἕξος κ.τ.λ., a *sour drink* made from the same by boiling.

§ 15. ἀπέκειντο, were laid up; cf. ἀποκείμενον, 5, 4, 27. — αἱ δέ, but some, ἀπόλεκτοι, of a choice quality. — ἡλέκτρον instead of ἡλέκτρον ὄψεως, a species of brachyology very common in Greek and Latin. We should say the appearance differed in no respect from (that of) amber. — τὰς δέ τινας, but some others. With δ μὲν and δ δέ, τῖς is often united. Cf. 3, 3, 19; 5, 7, 16. — τραγήματα, in apposition with τὰς δέ τινας. — ἦν, it was, the subject being indefinite. The reference is to the dried fruits just mentioned. — παρὰ πότον, at a banquet. For a full account of the συμπόσιον or πότος, see Dic. Antiqq. art. Symposium.

§ 16. τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, the *pith*, taken from the young shoots. — τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς ἡδ., its peculiar and delicious flavor. With the meaning of τῆς ἡδουῆς, cf. ἡδύ § 15, ἥσθη, 1, 9, 26.

§ 17. γυναικός, her name according to Plut. Artax. 5. was Stasira. — ἦκε, used aoristically, cf. notes 1, 2, 6.

§ 18. ἀμήχανα, inextricable, predicated of evils or dangers against which no remedy or defence can be found. — εὐρημα ἐποιούμην, I considered it an unexpected good fortune. Cf. ἐποιούντο, 6, 1, 11. — αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι; for a similar accumulation of infinitives, see 7, 6, 30: to obtain by request that he would grant to me to conduct in safety. — ἂν οὐκ is uncommon instead of οὐκ ἔν; by the present order the negative is connected immediately with ἐχαρίστω. — With ἐχαρίστω εἶχειν, to be without gratitude, compare εὐνοικῶς εἶχειν, 1, 1, 5; κακῶς εἶχ., 1, 5, 16; ἐντιμῶς εἶχ., 2, 1, 7. — πρὸς, on the part of.

§ 19. αὐτῷ Κῦρον ἐπιστρατεύοντα, that Cyrus was marching against him; the accus. and particip. with ἀγγέλλω is much less frequent than the accus. with the infin. — πρῶτος ἡγγελία, see 1, 2, 4. — δήλασα, 1, 10, 7. — αὐτῷ, sc. τῷ βασιλεῖ.

§ 20. βουλευσάσθαι, see note 1, 2, 2. — ἐρεῖσθαι, to ask, to enquire of; a defective verb, the tenses which are wanting being supplied by ἐρωτάω. — διαπράξασθαι, to bring about, to obtain.

§ 21. μεταστάντες, cf. note on μεταστησάμενος, 2, 3, 8; recollect also that the perf., pluperf., and 2d aor. of ἵστημι are intrans. in the act. voice. — ἔλεγεν, spoke, acted as speaker. Cf. 2, 5, 39; 3, 8, 3. — ἐπὶ, Krüger conjectures ὡς ἐπὶ, cf. 1, 2, 1.

§ 22. ἡσχύνημεν: for the construction of αἰσχύνομαι with the accus., see Gr. § 279, 5: we felt ashamed both before gods and men etc.; for the difference between the particip. and the infin. with αἰσχύνομαι, see Gr. § 311, 14. Cf. 2, 5, 39. — ἡμῶς αὐτοῦς is simply reflexive, no special emphasis resting on αὐτοῦς. — παρέχοντες . . . ποιεῖν, lit. yielding ourselves (to Cyrus) to do well (by us); i. e. suffering ourselves to receive favors from him.

§ 23. βασιλεὶ ἀντιποιούμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς; cf. 2, 1, 11, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιούμεται; βασιλεῖ, like ἀντὶ, dat. incommodi. — οὗτ' . . . ἔνεκα, nor is there (any thing) for which; ἔστιν has for its subject the implied antecedent of ἔστιν. — ἀδικεῖντα, any person who injures (us), the object of ἀμύνασθαι. — ὑπάρχει, begins, is first, as in 5, 5, 9. — τοῦτου ἡττησόμεθα, we shall not be inferior to this one, or, behind this one. Gr. § 275, 1. — eis, according to. Gr. § 290, 2. (3.)

§ 24. ἦεν, cf. note on ἐλθέτε, 2, 1, 1. — μερόντων, imperat. — ἀγορὰν παρέχειν is the regular expression signifying to furnish a market where provisions are sold. Cf. §§ 26 and 27 below; also 3, 1, 2.

§ 25. eis, cf. note on eis, 1, 7, 1. — διαπραγμαίνετο παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σῶζειν, having obtained from the king that it should be granted to him (Tissaphernes) to rescue etc. With σῶζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, compare ἀποσῶσαι ὁμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. — ἔξιν, worth the while, becoming, = πρέπον, as in 7, 3, 19. — ἐαυτόν, instead of αὐτόν, because βασιλεῖ is the subject of ἀφείναι on which the clause containing the reflexive is immediately dependent. — ἀφείναι (comp. ἀπὸ ἡμῶν), to dismiss, let go.

§ 26. τέλος, finally, cf. 1, 10, 18. — ἢ μὴν, surely, certainly, used particularly with oaths, asseverations, or solemn promises. Gr. § 316, 1. (a.) — ἢ μὴν παρέξειν, that we will certainly guarantee. The subject of παρέξειν is ἡμᾶς understood; φιλίαν is an adjective agreeing with χώραν, used here as a predicate; Gr. § 245, 3. (b.) — ἀδόλως, in good faith, used very commonly in solemn promises and in treaties. Cf. 2, 2, 8; 3, 2, 24. — ὅπου . . . ἢ, and wherever it may not be (possible).

§ 27. ὁμᾶς ὁμόσαι (from ὁμννμι), that you should give your oath. — πορεύεσθαι by a rhetorical figure for πορεύεσθαι, the fut. being conceived of as already present. — διὰ φιλίας, sc. τῆς χώρας, cf. 1, 3, 14. — ἔξεν, according to Krüger, depends on δέξεται, ὁμᾶς being understood as its subject.

§ 29. ὡς = πρὸς before the names of persons; cf. 1, 2, 4. — ἐπειδὴν διαπράξωμαι, fut. perf. in meaning; Gr. § 255, Rem. 9. — ἂ δέομαι, cf. note on εἴ τι δέοιτο, 1, 3, 4.

## CHAP. IV.

The Greeks suspecting the sincerity both of Ariaeus and of Tissaphernes march and encamp by themselves. Both armies cross over to the left bank of the Tigris, and proceed as far as the river Zabatas.

§ 1. ἀναγκαῖοι, kinsmen; cf. ἐπιτήδειοι, and in Latin, necessarii. — Περσῶν τινες, sc. ἀφικνούνται. — ἔνιοι is considered as in apposition with τινές; cf. 5, 5, 11; 6, 6, 34. — δεξιὰς ἔφερον, brought assurances. They



presented the right hand as the sign of a solemn promise in the name of the king; in Ages. 3, 4, δεξιὰν πέμπειν is predicated of the king himself. — *μνησικακήσσει*, with βασιλεία as its subject, depends on δεξιὰς ἔφερον as containing the idea of a promise. — τῆς ἐπι- and ἄλλου μηδ-, gen. of cause; Gr. § 274, 1. — τῶν παρηχημένων (from παροίχομαι), of the things that were past.

§ 2. οἱ περὶ Ἀριαίων, Ariacus and his men; Gr. § 263, d. We learn from Hell. 4, 1, 27, that Ariacus afterwards revolted a second time from the king. — προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν with the dat., giving the mind to, attentive to. — καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, on this account also, aside from other reasons. — προσιόντες, sc. οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλ-. — τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς, a correlative of Κλέαρχος δέ, § 5 below. — τῷ Κλ-, dat. with ἔλεγον.

§ 3. ἤ, instead of ἦ, used chiefly in indirect questions; and in "such direct questions as follow a general question and suggest the answer thereto, like Lat. *an*." L. & S. — περὶ παντός, cf. note on περὶ πλείστον, 1, 9, 7. — στρατεύειν instead of τοῦ στρατεύειν, dependent on φόβος, cf. 3, 1, 18; but in 4, 4, 11, ἀνίστασθαι without τοῦ dependent on ὕκνος. — ὑπάγεται, he through deceit induces, cf. ὑπήγετο, 2, 1, 18. — ἀντὶ dat. incomm. with διεσπάρθαι. — ἁλισθῇ from ἁλίσκω, a poetic word. — οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται, lit. there is not any way that he will not attack, i. e. he will certainly at all events attack; cf. 4, 5, 31.

§ 4. οὐ . . . βουλήσεται, he will never consent, voluntarily at least etc. — τοσούτοις means either so many or so few, the context alone determining which of these specific ideas it denotes; here, so few. — ἐπὶ ταῖς δούραις αὐτοῦ, a hyperbole as in 3, 1, 2. — καταγελάσαντες, cf. καταγελᾶν, 1, 9, 13.

§ 5. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, all these things also, as well as other things. — ἐπὶ πολέμῳ, for war, denoting purpose; Gr. § 296, II. (3.) (c). — δεῖν must also be connected with παρέξει: nor will any one furnish places from which etc. — ἐπιστινιόμεθα, Att. fut. mid. of ἐπιστρίβω, Gr. § 117. — ὁ ἡγησόμενος . . . ἔσται, lit. the one who will act as guide will be nobody, i. e. there will be no one to act as guide; cf. ὁ τολμήσων, 2, 3, 5. — For the meaning of the fut. ἔσθήξω, see Gr. § 173, Rem. 2. — οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες, sc. φίλοι, even those being formerly (friends) will be etc.

§ 6. ποταμός is placed before εἰ to give it more prominence and emphasis. Cf. ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὕψη εἰ τις φέροι, 4, 3, 6. — ἔρα, perchance, denoting that the supposition is not improbable. — διαβατέος, that must be crossed; Gr. § 284, 3. (12.) — δ' οὖν, but at all events, presents a fixed fact contrasted with a mere conjecture; cf. 1, 2, 12. — οἴδαμεν an unusual form instead of ἴσμεν. — οὐ μὲν δή, cf. note on 1, 9, 13. — ἰππεῖς. They had already gone over to the Persians (2, 2, 7). — νικῶντες, in case we should conquer; the participle for the sake of

conciseness often takes the place of a conditional clause. So *ἡττημένων*, *should we be conquered*.

§ 7. *βασιλεία* is the subject of *ὁμῶσαι*, and *αὐτόν* is repeated for the sake of perspicuity, on account of the intervening clauses. — *τὰ σύμματα*, *the means of making an attack, the resources*. — *ὅ, τι*, *in what respect, why*; *ὅ, τι* instead of *τί*, because it is an indirect question. — *θεοὺς ἑποικῆσαι*, *swear falsely by the gods*; cf. 3, 1, 22; Gr. § 279, 4.

§ 8. *eis olkon*; to his province Caria. Hell. 3, 2, 12: *Καρία, ἐθαπερ δ' Τισσαφέρους οἶκος*. — *ἐπὶ γάμῳ*, not for marriage, but rather in marriage, i. e. as his wife; since the nuptials had doubtless been celebrated in Babylon; and in 3, 4, 18, the expression *τοῦ τὴν βασιλείας θυγατέρα ἔχοντος* is used of Orontas. This can hardly mean any thing else than that he was already married. So Krüger.

§ 10. *ὕποψοντες* (*ὕπῳ* and *ὄψω*), *looking with suspicion upon*. — *αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν*, *themselves by themselves*. — *ἡγεμόνας*, *guides*. — *εὐθὺς*, *immediately*.

§ 11. *ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*; like the Eng. idiom, *while gathering wood from the same place*. Expressed logically in full, it would be, *ξυλιζόμενοι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κομιζόμενοι*; cf. *ἐκ ταύτης ἡγύραρον* κ.τ.λ., 1, 5, 10. — *πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον*, cf. *πληγὰς ἐνέβαλαν*, 1, 5, 11.

§ 12. *καλούμενον*, *so called*; cf. 1, 2, 18. — *εἰσω αὐτοῦ*, *within it*, i. e. on the eastern side, towards Babylon. — *πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς*, *burnt bricks*, in distinction from those which are dried in the sun. — *ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ*, which was very commonly used as mortar, and served an excellent purpose; cf. Herod. 1, 179. — *ποδῶν* depends on *τείχος* the implied subject of *ἦν*. — This passage, says Kiepert, shows what cannot be inferred from the imperfect and somewhat careless account of the preceding marches (2, 1, 3), that the Greeks had gone back two or three days' march, by the way that they had come, along the bank of the Euphrates or near the river, and had already passed the Median wall, so as to be on the west side of it, the side towards Mesopotamia; *εἰσω αὐτοῦ* consequently means on the side towards Babylon or the eastern side. *Ἀρέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ* is a remark so idle and inaccurate that it can scarcely be considered any thing else than a gloss.

§ 13. *τὴν δ' ἐςευγμένην*, lit. *the other joined together*, Lat. *junctam*, i. e. the other being furnished with a temporary bridge consisting of seven boats. The Greeks said either *ζευγνύναι ποταμὸν (διώρυχα)* as here, or *ζευγνύναι γέφυραν*, as in § 24 below. — *ἦσαν ἀπὸ*: it is not uncommon to unite *εἶναι* with prepositions or adverbs expressing motion; cf. *εἰσὶν ἐκ*, 1, 2, 7. — *κατετέμνητο (κατὰ, τέμνω)*, *there had been cut*. — *ὥσπερ*, sc. *κατατέμνηται*. — *μελίνας* here means fields on which *μελίμη* is grown.

§ 14. *δένδρων* is probably dependent on *παραδείσου*, since *δαρὲς* else-

where always takes the dative. The clause would then be read, *near a large and beautiful and dense park* (consisting) of etc. — *οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι*, sc. *ἐσκήνησαν*.

§ 15. *ἔπλεον*, cf. note on τὰ ἔπλα, 2, 2, 20. — *ἴδοι*, might see, i. e. have an interview with. — *καὶ ταῦτα*, and that too; cf. 1, 4, 12. — *ὣν* agrees with the subject of *ἐξήτει*, *ἑωρωνός τις*.

§ 16. *ὅτι*, cf. note 1, 6, 8. — *ἔπεμψε*, in the sing., agrees with the nearest subject and is understood with the more remote; an idiom not uncommon. Cf. *ἦν*, 1, 2, 8; *ἐπαυοίη*, 6, 1, 16.

§ 17. *τὴν γέφυραν*: the bridge of boats mentioned again § 24 below. In § 18 above, *γέφυρα* denotes a regularly constructed bridge in distinction from a mere bridge of boats, a pontoon. — *ὥς* before *διανοεῖται* is causal, *since*; before *μὴ διαβῇτε*, it is final, *in order that*. — *τῆς διάρυχος*, the one mentioned § 18, over which the bridge of boats was constructed.

§ 19. *ἀκόλουθα*, *consistent*. Wherein the two things threatened were inconsistent or incompatible with each other, appears from the sequel. — *τὰ—καὶ*; we should expect here from the sense *καὶ* only; instead of the simple *καὶ*, *τὰ—καὶ* stands also in 1, 5, 11; 1, 10, 4; 4, 8, 1. — *ἐπιτιθεμένων*, the persons making an attack, agrees with the implied subject of *νικᾶν* and *ἡττᾶσθαι*. — *συνῶμεν*, (as in the next § *φύγωσιν*, and in 1, 7, 7, δὲ,) since *ἔχομεν ἅν* does not differ greatly in sense from *ἔξομεν*. — *ἔποι*, (a place) to which; the antecedent of the relative adverb like that of the relative pronoun being often omitted.

§ 20. *πόση τις*, about how large; *τις* is often joined in this way to adjectives denoting quantity. — *χώρα ἡ*, see Gr. § 245, 3. (a.)

§ 22. *ὑποπέμψαιεν*; *ὑπό* in composition denotes, from the general idea under, the notion *secretly*. Instead of *πέμψαιεν*, the other form *πέμψαιεν* would be more common; Gr. § 116, 9. — *ἐνθεν μὲν . . . ἐνθεν δέ*, on the one side . . . on the other side; cf. 3, 5, 7. — *τῶν . . . ἐνόντων*, there being in (it) persons who would till (the land); a clause in the gen. abs. connected to a gen. governed by a preposition; cf. note 1, 10, 6. — *ἐργάζεσθαι*, to work, is used particularly to denote agricultural labor. — *ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο*, it might become a place of refuge; *ἀποστροφὴ* = *καταφυγή*, as in 7, 6, 34.

§ 23. *ὅμως*, nevertheless, i. e. although they thought there was no occasion for alarm or solicitude; cf. 2, 2, 17.

§ 24. *ὥς ὅσον τε μέλιστα*, as much as possible; *πεφυλαγμένοις*, adv. being on their guard. — *τῶν παρὰ*, cf. note 1, 1, 5. — *διαβαίνοντων*, gen. abs.; the dat. *διαβαίνουσι* might have been expected here; cf. note on *ἴδοντων*, 1, 4, 12. — *ἔχερο ἀπελάτων*, he departed riding away, or simply, he rode away; *ἀπελάτων* added to *ἔχερο* is not a mere tautology since it tells how he went away.

§ 25. *ῥηκτρο*, was situated; cf. note on *οἰκουμένην*, 1, 4, 1.

§ 26. *εἰς δύο*, two abreast; but in 7, 1, 28, *εἰς ἑκτά* denotes the depth of the line. The depth of the line is also denoted by *ἐπὶ* with the gen.; e. g. *ἐπὶ τεττάρων*, four deep, 1, 2, 15; but in 5, 2, 6, *ἐπὶ* with the gen. denotes also the width of the line. Hence the connection must determine the precise meaning of both expressions. — *ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφίσταμενος*, halting now and then. — *τὸ ἡγούμενον*, the van, (cf. 2, 2, 4); it is the object of *ἐπιστήσεις*, all the time that he made the van of the army to halt. — *τὴν ἐπίστασιν*, the halt.

§ 27. *Μηδία*; the land on the eastern side of the middle Tigris. It was originally called *Athûr* (Hebrew and Phoenician *Ashûr*, whence the Greek *Ἀσσυρία*). After the Assyrian empire had been overthrown by the Medes, the country took the name of *Μηδία*. Herod. calls it *Ματινή*, whereas the name Assyria is applied by him exclusively to Babylonia. In the time of Alexander the Great and later, this country was again called Assyria. — *Παρυσάτιδος κάμας*. From the distance they had marched, these must have been somewhere near the mouth of the Lesser Zab, a considerable stream, the passage of which one would expect to find mentioned. This seems to have been forgotten in speaking of the pillage. — *Κόρυς ἀπεργαλῶν* (*ἐπὶ*, *ἐν*, *γελῶν*), insulting Cyrus, as an insult to Cyrus. — *πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων*, but not to reduce the inhabitants to servitude; the full expression would be, *πλὴν ἀνδραποδίσσεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε*.

§ 28. *Κανναί*, later in the Roman and Parthian wars, called *Kanae*, *Maschane* or *Marchane*, (probably the Assyrian commercial city *Canneh*, mentioned in *Ezekiel* 27, 23.) Its ruins are still in existence and some remains of Assyrian sculpture have recently been found there. — *ἐπὶ σχ. δρεφ.*, on rafts (made) of tanned skins. *Arrian*. *Anab.* 3, 29, 4, describes something similar. — *ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον*. *Asyndeton* is often employed in the enumeration of different objects. Cf. 3, 1, 3; 3, 4, 81; 4, 4, 9; 4, 5, 81; 6, 6, 1.

## CHAP. V.

During a halt of three days at the river Zabatus (the Greater Zab), Clearchus seeks and obtains an interview with Tissaphernes. He is so far deceived by the wily Persian that he takes with him four other generals and twenty captains for a second interview. The Greek generals are made prisoners and the captains are put to the sword. Ariaeus repairs at once to the Grecian camp and demands an immediate surrender. Cleanor in behalf of the Greeks returns a reproachful answer.

§ 1. *Ζαῦδρας* (cf. 3, 8, 6.), Syriac *Zaba*, i. e. Wolf; hence called by the later Greeks *Λύκος*; it is still called the Greater Zab (Syriac *Sab*). — *ὀποψίαι*, occasions for distrust.

§ 2. παῦσαι τὰς ἐπιφύλας connected by καί to συγγενέσθαι, and understood with δύναιτο. — ἐρῶντα (indic. ἐρῶ, the fut. of φημί), to say. — αὐτῷ, i. e. τῷ Τισσαφέρνει.

§ 3. Τισσαφέρνῃ, instead of Τισσαφέρνες. See Gr. § 71. A. — ἡμᾶς dependent on φυλαττόμενον, *guarding yourself against us* etc.

§ 4. οὔτε has for its correlative τὲ after ἐγώ; cf. note on μήτε—τε, 2, 2, 8. — αἰσθεσθαι instead of αἰσθάνεσθαι is rare: the aorist infin. would be αἰσθέσθαι. — τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, *any such thing*, i. e. to do injury to you. — εἰς λόγους σοι εἰσελθεῖν, *to enter into a conference with you*. — ἐξέλκεσθαι, from ἐλαίειν, *I take away from*.

§ 5. ἀνθρώπους, which denotes the whole is in the same case with τοὺς μέν, and τοὺς δέ, which denote the parts, instead of the gen. ἀνθρώπων. This kind of apposition is not uncommon. — οἱ φοβηθέντες . . . βουλομένοι . . . ἐποίησαν, instead of φοβηθέντας . . . βουλομένους . . . ποιήσαντας. To avoid such an accumulation of participles, the present construction (unusual with οἶδα) was chosen. — φοβηθέντες, *having feared*, is regularly used as aor. mid. — φθάσαι . . . παθεῖν, *wishing to anticipate (the others) before they suffered (any thing)*. — For the two accusatives κακῶ, and τοὺς κ.τ.λ., with ἐποίησαν, see Gr. § 280, 2.

§ 6. ἀγνωμοσύνας, a milder expression for ἀδικήματα, as ἀγνώμων is used for ἄδικος, 7, 8, 23.

§ 7. πρῶτον . . . μέγιστον, *for (to speak of that which is) first and most important*; cf. 1, 3, 10; 5, 6, 29. — μέν is correlative with δέ, § 8. — οἱ θεῶν ὅρκοι, *our oaths to the gods*; cf. 6, 1, 81, ὁμνῶς θεοῦς, *I swear by the gods*. — τούτων, i. e. τῶν θεῶν, depends on παρημεληκός. — τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον, *war with the gods*, object of ἀποφεύγοι. — ἀπὸ τοιοῦ τάχους, *with what speed*. In this and similar expressions the means seems to be conceived of as the beginning of the action, the starting-point; cf. 1, 1, 9; 2, 6, 5. — For the difference between ἀποφεύγω and ἀποδιδρᾶσκω, cf. note on 1, 4, 8. — ἀποσταλῆναι, with this also τὸν θεῶν πόλεμον may be supplied, *nor how (fleeing) into a stronghold he might escape from the war with the gods*. So Krüg. and Hert. Cf. ἀφίστανται τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιὰς. Cyneg. 3, 3. — ποῖον stands regularly in a direct question, *how* in an indirect. For a similar change (from the indirect to the direct interrogative), see 3, 5, 13. — πάντῃ πάντα, πανταχῇ πάντων, cf. note 1, 9, 2; cf. also πιστὰ ἕπιστα, 2, 4, 7. — ἴσον, adv. *alike, equally*.

§ 8. οἷς relates to the more remote noun θεῶν. — κατεθέμεθα, *have deposited it* (τὴν φιλίαν), as a consecrated offering which neither party has any right to remove from its place (παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς). — τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, in contrast with περὶ τῶν θεῶν, dependent on μέγιστον ἀγαθόν.

§ 9. πᾶσα ὁδός, *every way*; but πᾶσα ἡ ὁδός, *all the way, the entire journey*. — φοβερώτατον instead of φοβερωτάτῃ; cf. ἔμπορον, 3, 2, 22;

παρέρ, 3, 4, 25; ἀλεων, 4, 4, 11. See Gr. § 241, 2. — Notice the paranomasia φοβέρως, φοβερότατον; cf. 2, 4, 7, and § 7 above.

§ 10. μανέντες, aor. of μάρομαι, *having become destitute of reason*. — ἄλλο τι ἢ ἡ, an elliptical expression with which one may supply mentally (before ἡ) γένοιτο, *would any thing else happen than*; or perhaps ποιῶμεν, *should we do any thing else than*. — ἑφεδρον means properly the athlete who, when the number of combatants was uneven, had no one matched against him, and who consequently waited to contend with fresh strength against the already exhausted victor; hence it denotes secondarily a dangerous antagonist.

§ 11. τῶν τόκω, cf. 2, 2, 20; in this clause understand αὐτόν as the subject of εἶναι. — τήν τε . . . ἔχοντα, *possessing both the military power and the country of Cyrus*. Cf. Hell. 3, 1, 3. — τήν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, sc. ὁρᾷ. — ταύτην, cf. note on τοῦτον, 2, 2, 20.

§ 12. ὅστις, *that he*; cf. 7, 1, 28. — ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ, *for I will tell also*; γὰρ has reference to the thought implied after ἀλλὰ μὴν, *but furthermore* (we can become useful to you) *for etc.*; cf. 3, 2, 11.

§ 13. ἂν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν has the same subject as νομίζω, *whom I think that I might render etc.* — ἄλλα ἔθνη; as the Lycaonians 3, 2, 23; the Carduchians 3, 5, 16. Concerning the Mysians see note 1, 6, 7; and the Psidians, see note 1, 1, 11; and the Egyptians, see note 1, 8, 9. — ἂν παύσαι, *I should make to cease*. — ἐνοχλοῦντα agrees with ἔ. — τῆς . . . οὐσίας instead of ἡ τῇ . . . οὐσίᾳ, *I see not by the use of what allied forces you could better punish* (them, i. e. the Egyptians) *than by using that which is now with me*.

§ 14. Observe the difference between τῷ dat. of τὸς, and τῷ the dat. of the article. — ὥς before μέγιστος is intensive, *the very greatest*; before δεσπότης, it signifies *as*. — εἰς, sc. ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας. — ἀναστρέφω, sc. ἔν, *you might conduct yourself as master etc.*; cf. 1, 6, 2, where ἔν is expressed with the first optative (in the apodosis) and understood with the others. — τῆς χάριτος, supply ἐνεκα from the preceding clause. — ἧς, object of ἔχοιμεν, attracted to the case of the antecedent.

§ 15. τὸ ὄνομα, τὸς, an unusual form of expression. We should expect either the omission of τὸ ὄνομα (in which case it would read, *I should most gladly hear who*), or else τὸ ὄνομα τούτου, ὅστις (*I should most gladly hear the name of him who*). — δευρὸς λέγειν, *skilful or able to speak*, i. e. eloquent. — ἀπημείφθη = ἀπεκρίνατο, in which sense ἀμείβομαι (comm. with a 1st aor. mid.) is poetic.

§ 16. Ἄλλᾳ, see note 1, 7, 6. — ἔν belongs to εἶναι; κακόνους in the nom. agreeing with the subject of εἶναι; Gr. § 307, 4. — ὥς δ' ἂν μάθης, *but that you may perhaps (ἔν) learn*. When ὥς or ὅπως denoting a purpose, is followed by the subjunctive, if ἔν is omitted, the notion of

simple purpose is denoted, if *ἔν* is expressed, the notion of contingency is added; (Hermann as cited by Hertlein). Cf. 6, 3, 18.

§ 17. ἀπορεῖν stands here without *ἔν*, since a fixed fact is expressed (οὐκ ἀπορούμεν); in § 18 it stands with *ἔν* denoting possible cases (οὐκ ἔν ἀπορούμεν). — *ἐν* denotes here the means, Gr. § 289, 1. (3.) (a.) — ἀντιπαύσκειν depends on κίρδυνος, cf. 5, 1, 6.

§ 18. ἀλλά is best rendered here by the Eng. word *or*. See L. & S., sub voce II; cf. 5, 8, 4. — διαπορεύεσθε, cf. note 2, 3, 27. — ὅντα instead of εἶναι, Gr. § 310, 4. (a.) — ὅντα πορευτρία, *must be passed*; with this belongs δμῶν as agent or doer; Gr. § 284, 3. (12.) — ταμειέσθαι . . . μέχεσθαι, *to divide off* (after the manner of a steward) *so many of you as we may wish to fight with*; i. e. as the Greeks were crossing a river, they could attack either those who had already passed over or those who were left behind, as many or as few as they pleased. — αὐτῶν, *of them*, i. e. the rivers. — διαπορούμεν; notice the difference between πορεύω and πορεύομαι.

§ 19. εἰ ἡττήμεθα (optat.), *if we should be defeated*. — ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ, *yet at least (γέ) the fire is certainly (τοί) etc.*; cf. ἀλλὰ . . . γέ, 3, 2, 8.

§ 20. ἔχοντες is conditional and hence takes μηδένα instead of οὐδένα, Gr. § 318, 3. — *ἔν* qualifying ἐξελοίμεθα is repeated because the first is so far removed from the verb. — πρὸς δεῶν, cf. note on 1, 6, 6.

§ 21. ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ . . . οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι, *lit. it belongs to persons without resources etc. who wish*; a mingling of two constructions, ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ . . . ἐθέλειν, and ἔποτο εἶναι . . . οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι. — καὶ τούτων ποσῶν, *and still more* (it belongs to base persons. Cf. note on καὶ ταῦτα, 1, 4, 12).

§ 22. ἐξόν, accus. absol.; Gr. § 312, 5; cf. 2, 6, 6; 3, 2, 26. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ φηλομεν, *we came upon this*, i. e. *we applied ourselves to this* (cf. ἐπὶ πᾶν εἶλθοι, 3, 1, 18). The clause reads, *why indeed, when it was permitted to destroy you, did we not apply ourselves to this?* — τούτου, *of this*, (i. e. the fact that we did not undertake to destroy you,) depends on αἴτιος. — τοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ καταβῆναι depends on ἔπος; *my earnest desire to become faithful etc.* (lit. *desire of this that I become etc.*); τούτῳ is the antecedent of φ, and the substantive ξενικῷ stands in the relative clause; Gr. § 332, 8; *and my earnest desire to return, being strong through benefits* (conferred), *with that mercenary force, with which Cyrus came up etc.* *My earnest desire etc. was the cause of this* (τούτου αἴτιος). μισθοδοσίας and εὐεργεσίας are antithetical; they are in the plural, denoting that the actions signified were performed at different times.

§ 23. ὅσα, *in how many ways*, connected with χρήσιμοι, Gr. § 279, 7. — τιάρα ὀρθή: the Persian kings alone wore the upright tiara, while the nobility wore those which were flexible. — τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ: by

this figurative language, Tissaphernes is thought to intimate that he himself secretly aspired to the throne. It is not necessary, however, to put this construction on the passage; since it may naturally signify that while the king wore the outward sign of authority, the real power would be in the possession of Tissaphernes if he were supported by the Greeks. After  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\iota$  supply  $\delta\rho\theta\eta\nu$ .

§ 24.  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu$ , sc.  $\delta$  Κλέαρχος. The aorist  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\epsilon\nu$  comprehends the following as one whole; the imperf.  $\epsilon\phi\eta$  dwells on the presentation of the single and special (Krüger). Cf. 6, 1, 31; 7, 3, 24; 7, 6, 41. The Eng. idiom scarcely admits of our translating  $\epsilon\phi\eta$ . —  $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$  . . .  $\delta\upsilon\alpha\rho\chi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ , gen. abs., *while such reasons exist* etc. —  $\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , without  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , dependent on  $\alpha\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\varsigma$ , cf. 1, 9, 1.

§ 25.  $\alpha\lambda$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\sigma\tau\tau\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\omicron\iota$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\omicron\iota$   $\lambda\omicron\chi\alpha\gamma\omicron\iota$ , in apposition with the subject of  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , sc.  $\delta\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ . — Before  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$  Krüger supposes  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  may have fallen from the text. In that case  $\mu\omicron\iota$  would limit  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , *to come to an interview with me*. Kühner connects  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$  with the foregoing and renders, *mihi in conspectum venire, to appear before me*. With the text of Hertlein, if no ellipsis be supposed,  $\mu\omicron\iota$  must be considered as the dat. in reference to whom the action takes place (Gr. § 284, 3. (10).); since a Greek would not say  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\mu\omicron\iota$ , *to come to me*, but  $\epsilon\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$  or  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha$   $\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ . —  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\epsilon\mu\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota$ , according to Krüg. and Hert., *openly*. Cf.  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\tilde{\omega}$ , 1, 3, 21.

§ 26.  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ — $\alpha\delta$ , see note 1, 1, 7. —  $\delta\theta\epsilon\nu$ , not *from whom*, since this word is not spoken of persons; but rather, *whence, from what source*.

§ 27.  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\nu$   $\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , *manifestly supposed*. Cf.  $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\nu$ , 1, 2, 11. —  $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$   $\tau\iota\nu\iota$  ordinarily means, *to have a friendly disposition towards any one*; here however in a wider sense it means, *to sustain towards any one relations that are mutually friendly*, the friendly disposition of Tissaphernes being the prominent idea. —  $\omicron\iota$  . . .  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , *who should be convicted of calumniating* (him, i. e. Tissaphernes). For the construction of  $\alpha\nu$   $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota$ , cf. note on  $\epsilon\delta\nu$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\delta\iota\delta\omega$ , 1, 3, 14. — The omitted antecedent of  $\omicron\iota$  is subject of  $\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\eta\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ , and the clause  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  . . .  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  is in apposition with it: *on the ground that they themselves were traitors and evil-minded towards the Greeks*. Others consider  $\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  the antecedent of  $\omicron\iota$ , and refer for a similar construction to I, 9, 29; 6, 4, 9.

§ 28.  $\alpha\nu\tau\tilde{\omega}$ , i. e. Clearchus. —  $\tilde{\eta}$  instead of  $\epsilon\tilde{\eta}\eta$ ; cf. note on  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\tilde{\eta}$ , 1, 4, 18.

§ 29.  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\eta\nu$   $\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\eta\nu$ , *should direct their attention towards himself*, implying *that they should be devoted to him*. —  $\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$ — $\alpha\nu\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$   $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , *spoke in opposition to him, that all etc. should not go*. For the use of  $\mu\grave{\eta}$  before  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ , cf. note on  $\tau\delta$   $\mu\grave{\eta}$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\omega\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ , 1, 3, 2.

§ 30.  $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu$ , *exerted himself, contended*. The whole transaction



is differently related by Ctesias cap. 60, according to whom, Clearchus was with difficulty persuaded by Menon to go to Tissaphernes. — *ὡς εἰς ἀγοράν*, as if to market, consequently without their armor.

§ 81. 'Αγίας has not been mentioned before; cf. note 1, 2, 9. — *ἐνὶ δόρυς* without the article, as commonly when no qualifying clause is joined to it; cf. 7, 8, 16.

§ 82. *ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου*, from etc., in the Eng. idiom, at the same signal. Cf. *ἀπὸ παραγγέλλουσας*, 4, 1, 5. — *ᾤτινι . . . πάντας*, cf. note on *δοῖς* . . . *πάντας* 1, 1, 5.

§ 83. *ἡμφοργούν*, from *ἀμφοργέω*; for the augment see Gr. § 126, 1, and 8.

§ 85. *ἦσαν*. Our idiom would hardly admit of the imperf. here, but to be exact we should employ the pluperf., *had been*. Cf. *ἐπολιόρκει*, and *συνεπολλέμει*, *had besieged* etc., 1, 4, 2; *ἡνάγκαζον*, *had compelled*, 2, 1, 6. Instances of this sort are not unfrequent.

§ 86. *εἰ τις*, like *δοῖς*, is used as a compound relative: *ordered whatever one there might be . . . to approach* etc. — *ἀπαγγέλλουσι*, cf. note on *διαβῆ*, 1, 4, 18. — *τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως*, cf. 2, 8, 4.

§ 87. 'Ορχομένιος, not from the Boeotian, but from the Arcadian Orchomenus, since he is also called 'Αρκάς, 2, 1, 10; 3, 1, 47. — *Ξενοφῶν* has been mentioned but once before, 1, 8, 15. — *τὰ περὶ Προξένου*, the things relating to Proxenus, the fate of Proxenus. The common construction for this idea would be *τὰ περὶ Προξένου*, cf. 3, 2, 20; 1, 6, 8; but the gen. stands instead of the accus., owing to the proximity of *μᾶλλον*, by a species of attraction, since *μαθεῖν περὶ τίνος* would be the regular construction. So Hert., Krüg., and Küh. explain it.

§ 88. *ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον*; a verb of rest followed by a clause denoting motion, (having gone) to a place within hearing distance they stood. — *ἔχει τὴν δίκην*, has suffered punishment; cf. § 41 below; but in 7, 4, 24, *ἔχειν δίκην* means, to receive satisfaction. — *ἀπαρτεῖ*; he does not say simply *αἰτεῖ*. Cf. note on *ἀπύτουν*, 1, 2, 11. — *τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου*, his slave; *ἐκείνου* is governed by *τοῦ δούλου*. — With *εἶναι* and *ἦσαν* supply *τὰ ὅπλα*.

§ 89. *ἔλεγε*, cf. note 2, 3, 21. — *ἀλεχύνεσθε δεοῦς*, cf. note on *ὑσχνόθημεν*, 2, 8, 22. — *ἡμῖν* depends on *τοὺς αὐτοὺς*, Gr. § 284, 3. (4.) — *νομεῖν*, to consider; fut. of *νομίζω*, cf. *καθιεῖν*, 2, 1, 4; to consider the same persons . . . whom we do. A common form of expression to denote an offensive and defensive alliance. — *ὡς* should not be expressed, but owing to his excitement Cleanor forgets that he had just used *ὅτινες*. To the same excitement must be attributed *προδεδωκότες*, while *προδόντες* had just been expressed. By employing the same anacoluthon in English and by repeating the idea of *ἀλεχύνεσθε*, we may translate *ὡς*: are you not

admitted that you have destroyed the very men to whom you gave your oath, and etc.

§ 40. γάρ has reference to some thought not expressed, perhaps in this form,—we are not unjust for etc. Cf. note on Ἡ γάρ, 1, 6, 8.

§ 41. δίκαιον is here used impersonally; cf. 3, 1, 37. In like manner δῆλον, 3, 1, 16. With both these words, the personal construction is very frequent; cf. 1, 2, 11; 2, 5, 27; 2, 6, 21. — Πρόξενος καὶ Μένων: grammatically they seem to be connected with the nearest verb, but logically, they seem rather to be the object of πέμψετε. We may imitate the expression thus, *But in respect to Proxenus and Menon, since they are etc.* Cf. ἡμεῖς, 3, 8, 16.

## CHAP. VI.

Character of the five generals; particularly of Clearchus, of Proxenus, and of Menon.

§ 1. ὥς, see note I, 2, 4. — ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς. From the active, ἀποτέμνειν τινί τὴν κεφαλὴν, comes the passive, ἀποτέμνεται τις τὴν κεφαλὴν, the acc. of the thing being retained even in the Pass., Gr. § 281, 3. Render, *having been beheaded*. — εἰς is in apposition with στρατηγοί. — μέν, the correlative δέ occurs § 16 below. — ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, *by the admission of all*; the construction of ἐκ πάντων seems to be determined by ὁμολογουμένως (which contains the notion ὁμολογούμενος) rather than by δόξας, *having seemed*, which would take πᾶσι. For ἐκ denoting the agent or doer, see note 1, 1, 6. — τῶν . . . ἐχόντων, *those who were familiarly acquainted with him*; cf. 1, 9, 1; αὐτοῦ depends on ἐμπείρους, by the same principle that the adjective ἐμπείρος takes the gen., Gr. § 273, 5. (a.) — καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως, *both skilled in war and extremely fond of war*. Cf. the similar word πολέμιος, *hostile*; πολεμικός is defined § 7 below, and φιλοπόλεμος § 6.

§ 2. πόλεμος, the Peloponnesian war, which commenced 431 B. C., and ended in the spring of 404 B. C., three years and a half before the death of Clearchus. — παρέμενεν, *he remained*, i. e. among the Lacedaemonians. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας, *the Greeks* who occupied the Thracian Chersonesus; cf. 1, 3, 4. — Περὶ ὅθου: Perinthus was a city in Thrace on the Propontis; it was afterwards called Heraclea and is now called Ereğli.

§ 3. μεταγρόντες πᾶς, *having in some way (or for some reasons) changed their mind*. — ἔξω, *away*, i. e. away from Sparta. — Ἰσθμοῦ; the isthmus of Corinth, since that alone was commonly called Ἰσθμός without any qualifying word. — ἐνταῦθα imparts additional emphasis to the member of the sentence before which it stands; cf. 1, 10, 5; 3, 4, 25. — οὐκ ἔτι,

no longer, no more as he had previously done when he remained (§ 2 *παρόντων*) faithful to Sparta.

§ 4. τῶν τελῶν, nom. τὰ τέλη, the magistrates, meaning particularly the Ephora. — *ἔπειτα* sc. *μυρίους δαρυκεὺς δοῦναι*. — ἄλλῃ γέγραπται, has been described elsewhere; a mistake on the part of Xenophon, since neither in 1, 1, 9, nor in 1, 3, 3, nor any where else is any thing said on this point.

§ 5. ἀπὸ . . . χρημάτων; cf. note on ἀπὸ . . . τάχους, 2, 5, 7. — ἀπὸ τούτου, ab eo tempore, inde, Küh. — ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε; so in Latin *ferre* and *agere*, the former being predicated properly of movable effects, the latter of cattle; hence when used together they mean, to rob and plunder utterly. They take as object in the accus. either the country or the inhabitants. — πολεμῶν διεγένετο, cf. ἐσθίοντες διεγίγνοντο, 1, 5, 6.

§ 6. ὅστις, see note on οἵτινες, 2, 5, 21. — ἐξόν, see note 2, 5, 22. — ὅστε πολεμεῖν, under the condition that he may carry on war; Gr. § 841, §. (d). Cf. 5, 6, 26. — ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικά, just as if upon a favourite.

§ 7. ταύτῃ, adverbial, in this respect. — πανταχοῦ πάντες, cf. note, 1, 9, 2.

§ 8. ὥς δυνατόν . . . εἶχεν, as much as possible with such a character as he possessed; ἐκ is used somewhat like ἀπὸ, § 5 above; καὶ before ἐκείνους as also before ἄλλος in the next sentence cannot easily be translated into English. — ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος, cf. 1, 3, 15. — αὐτῷ is ethical dat., Gr. § 284, §. (10.) (d). — ἐμποιῆσαι, to impress upon. — ὥς . . . Κλεάρχῳ, that Clearchus must be obeyed; Κλεάρχῳ here is much more expressive than though he had said simply αὐτῷ.

§ 9. ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι, from the fact that he was austere, or simply, by being etc.; χαλεπός, see Gr. § 807, 4. — ὄραν στυγνός, repulsive in appearance; for the construction of the infin. ὄραν, see Gr. § 806, Rem. 10. — αὐτῷ μεταμέλει, cf. 1, 6, 7. — ἔσθ' ὅτε more emphatic than ἐνίστε, as οὐδὲ εἰς is more emphatic than οὐδέis. — γνώμη, with judgment, considerately, in opposition to ἐργῇ. — στρατεύματος . . . ὕψελος, cf. 1, 3, 11.

§ 10. ἔφασαν, cf. note 1, 9, 28. — φυλακὰς φυλάζειν, Gr. § 278, 1. In English we should say, to keep guard; cf. 5, 1, 2. — φίλων ἀφέξεσθαι, to refrain from (doing injury to) friends.

§ 11. αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν, to hear to him, to obey him; Gr. § 278, Rem. 18. — σφόδρα, implicitly, cf. σφόδρα πειθομένοις, § 18 below. — ἐν τοῖς προσώποις, in his looks. The plural of πρόσωπον, used of a single person, is chiefly poetical.

§ 12. πρὸς ἄλλους, sc. στρατηγούς. — ἀρχομένους agrees with the subj. of ἀπείναι. For the accus. instead of the dat., cf. note on λαβόντα,

1, 2, 1. *Render, and it was permitted (to the soldiers) to go away to serve under other (generals).* — *δέκευτο πρὸς αὐτόν, were disposed towards him; ὅσπερ . . . διδάσκων.* It is to be hoped that boys nowadays will not understand this comparison.

§ 13. *καὶ γὰρ οὖν, cf. note 1, 9, 8. — τεταγμένοι, sc. παρῆναι αὐτῷ. — ἐνδὲ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, sc. κατεχόμενοι, adhering to him from the fact that they were in want. — πειθεμένοις agrees as predicate with the object of ἐχρήτο; these persons (those described in the former part of the sentence) he made use of, obeying (him) implicitly.* Cf. *πολεμῖς*, 2, 5, 11.

§ 14. *τὰ . . . στρατιώτας, lit. the things making the soldiers with him to be useful. — τὸ . . . φοβεῖσθαι αὐτούς, the fact that they feared etc.*

§ 15. *οὐ μάλα = ἥκιστα, a very common litotes. — ἀμφὶ τὰ πενήκοντα, cf. note on ἀμφὶ τοὺς διαχιλίους, 1, 2, 9; see also § 80 below.*

§ 16. *εὐθὺς μαρμάκιον ἔν, cf. εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες, 1, 9, 4. — Γοργίας, a celebrated sophist and rhetorician from Leontini in Sicily. — ἔδωκε . . . ἀργύριον; in order to obtain instruction from him. 'Αργύριον δίδονας τινα often means, to receive instruction from any one; cf. Symp. 3, 6.*

§ 17. *συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, had associated with him, i. e. had received instruction from him. So συγγίγνεσθαι τινι is not unfrequently used; as also in Latin esse cum aliquo. — τοῖς πρώτοις, the first, i. e. the most distinguished men. — εὐεργετῶν (particip. of εὐεργετέω), cf. the construction of ἀλαξόμενον, 1, 9, 11.*

§ 18. *τεσοῦνται . . . σφόδρα, but while desiring so many things intensely. — αὖ, on the other hand. — ἄνευ δὲ τούτων, but without these, i. e. without justice and honor. — μή, supply mentally the idea τούτων τυγχάνειν; the position of μή renders it particularly emphatic.*

§ 19. *ἑαυτοῦ objective gen. dependent on αἰδῶ, respect for himself. — ἐκείνῳ = αὐτῷ, except that ἐκείνῳ is more emphatic.* Cf. note on ἐκείνον, 2, 2, 8.

§ 20. *φετο . . . δοκεῖν . . . ἐπαυεῖν, and he thought it sufficient for being and seeming (to be) competent to command that he should praise etc.*

§ 21. *δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν, cf. δῆλος ἦν ἀνιόμενος, 1, 2, 11. — διδοίη δίκην, poenam dare, give satisfaction, i. e. suffer punishment, cf. 4, 4, 14; 5, 4, 20.*

§ 22. *ὅν for ταῦτα ὅν. — τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ . . . εἶναι, the same (thing) with the being stupid, the same as stupidity. Cf. ἐν ταύτῳ τούτοις, 3, 1, 27.*

§ 23. *τούτῳ depends on ἐπιβουλεύων. — καὶ . . . κατεγέλα implies that he was afraid of the enemy. — τῶν συνόντων πάντων depends on καταγελῶν but must be supplied mentally (in the dat. case) with διελέγετο: he always conversed with his associates as if he were making sport of them all.*

§ 24. *τὰ τῶν φίλων, the (possessions) of his friends. — μόνος, an*

adjunct of the subject of εἰδέναι, cf. Gr. § 307, 4, *he supposed that he alone* (i. e. *he especially, he better than any body else*; Hert. renders μόρος, unus omnium maxime) knew etc. — *ἐν*, particip. instead of infin. after εἰδέναι, a verbum sentiendi; Gr. § 310, 4. — ἀφύλακτα belongs as a predicate to τὰ τῶν φίλ., *because they were not guarded*; see Gr. § 245, 3. (b.)

§ 25. The antecedent of δούς, namely πάντας understood is the object of ἐφοβεῖτο, and with this object ἀπισμένους agrees.

§ 26. τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι; τῷ belongs to δύνασθαι, in the ability to deceive. — πλάσσειν from πλάσσω, an expressive word. — τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων, connected with εἶναι, partitive genitive. — καὶ . . . κτήσασθαι, *and those persons with whom he attempted to excel (to occupy the foremost place) in friendship, he thought it necessary to acquire by calumniating their best friends.* διαβάλλων instead of διαβάλλοντα, by attraction of the subject of φερε just as though δεῖν were not expressed. Examples of this sort are not uncommon. Cyrop. 5, 2, 17, ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῃ σιόνται δεῖν φρόνιμοι καὶ μέτριοι φαίνεσθαι. With τοὺς πρώτους supply from the foregoing φιλικῶς, *those who are first in friendship, i. e. their best friends*; τοῦτους, object of κτήσασθαι.

§ 27. τὸ . . . πατέχεσθαι depends on ἐμνηχανῶτο, *he contrived to render* etc. — ἐκ τοῦ . . . αὐτοῖς denotes the means. — εὐεργεσίαν κατέλεγον, *he recounted it as a beneficent act that he did not* (ὅτι . . . οὐκ . . .) etc. So κατέλεγεν is commonly understood; but Krüg. interprets it thus, *he spoke against, he spoke with complaint of his beneficent conduct in that he did not* etc.

§ 28. Ἀριστίων, cf. 1, 1, 10, and 1, 2, 6. — Ἀριᾶν depends on οἰκειότατος. — ἤθετο, sc. Ἀριᾶιος. — αὐτὸς δέ, *but he himself*, i. e. Menon. — γεγεῖωτα (particip. from γεγεῖω), *having already arrived at manhood*; agrees with Θαρσύνων. The disgusting vice here alluded to is described in the Epistle to the Romans, ch. 1, verse 27. An uglier portrait than that of Menon has seldom been drawn on a small scale.

§ 29. πεποιηκὸς οὐκ ἐπέθανε, sc. Μένων. — ἀποτυμθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, cf. § 1 above. — ὥς belongs simply to πονηρός not to λέγεται.

§ 30. καὶ τοῦτοι, lit. *these also*, is most conveniently rendered by the Eng. word *likewise*; cf. καὶ τοῦτους, 1, 1, 11. — εἰς φίλιν, *in respect to friendship*; i. e. *for a want of fidelity in their relations to friends*.

## BOOK THIRD.

"Ὅσα παραβάντες τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρους ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος.—Hostilities between the Persians and Greeks after the treaty was broken, with an account of the march from the river Zabatas to the Carduchian mountains.

## CHAP. I.

The Greeks are in the greatest dejection. Xenophon, waking from a remarkable dream, rouses first the captains of Proxenus and urges them to immediate action. The other captains and the surviving generals are then called, and after deliberation in which Xenophon takes a conspicuous part, they conclude to elect new generals in place of those who were taken by the Persians.

§ 1. "Ὅσα . . . μάχης indicates the subject of the first book; δσα . . . σπονδαῖς, the subject of the second book. — ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, during the treaty, is to be joined with ἐγένετο.

§ 2. οἱ στρατηγοί; not all of the generals, but those only who are mentioned in 2, 5, 31. — ἐπὶ ταῖς βασ. δύσιν, cf. note 2, 4, 4. — ὅταν (and the verbs in the following clauses dependent on ἐννοούμενοι), see note on the construction of ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, 2, 2, 15. — κύκλῳ is not always to be taken in the strict sense (cf. 1, 5, 4), hence it is often joined with πάντῃ, or πανταχῇ. — πολλὰ and πολέμιοι belong both to ἔθνη and πόλεις, there were around them on every side many both nations and cities (that were) hostile. When connected nouns have a common attributive, it is expressed with each only when perspicuity or emphasis requires; otherwise it is expressed but once, and agrees in form with the nearest noun; cf. Gr. § 242, Rem. 4. — ἀγορὰν, cf. note 2, 3, 24. — μύρια στάδια: i. e. by the most direct route; by the circuitous way in which they had come it was considerably more; cf. 2, 2, 6. — νικῶντες, in case they should be victorious. ἡττώμαι, I am vanquished, is regularly used for the pass. of νικᾶν.

§ 3. ὀλίγοι, few, not a few; it belongs to ἐννοούμενοι as an apposition of the part to the whole. — εἰς, cf. note 1, 7, 1. — τὰ ὄπλα, lit. the heavy armor, by meton. the place where the heavy armor was stacked, hence the encampment; cf. 2, 2, 20 — ἐτύγγανεν, sc. ὅν, happened to be. The particip. is often omitted with τυγγάνειν, especially in relative clauses.

— *παρῖδαν* . . . *παῖδαν*; notice the asyndeton. Cf. note on *ἔρτους κ.τ.λ.*, 2, 4, 28.

§ 4. *αὐτός* is intensive (as always in the nom.); it belongs also to the subj. of *νομίζεω* rather than to that of *εἶπεν*; thus, *whom he said that he himself deemed* etc. — *κρείττω*, better, of more value, agrees with *ὃν* which relates to *Κόρυ*.

§ 5. *μή*, lest, or that, the notion of fearing being contained in *ὀπαστεύσας*. — *μή* . . . *γενέσθαι*, that the becoming a friend to Cyrus might be some occasion of accusation on the part of the city. — *ἔτι* introduces the reason; because. — *συμπολεμῆσαι*; particularly during the last years of the Peloponnesian war. — *ἐλθόντα*, see Gr. § 807, 2. Cf. *λαβόντα*, 1, 2, 1.

§ 6. *ἔν* is repeated; cf. 4, 6, 18. — *τὴν ὁδόν*, accus. of cognate meaning, Gr. § 278, 2. — *καλῶς πράξας*, cf. note on *πράξεις*, 1, 9, 10. — *δεοῖς* instead of *δεοῦς*; an instance of inverse attraction. For the response of the oracle, see 6, 1, 22.

§ 7. *οὐ* stands before *τοῦτο* instead of *ἡρώτα*, because the points in the antithesis are *οὐ τοῦτο—ἀλλὰ . . . τοῦτο* . . .; cf. note on *οὐ*, 1, 4, 5. — *τοῦτο* regularly refers to what precedes; but when an exegetical clause (introduced by *ἔτι*, *ὥς*, or as here, in the form of an indirect question) is added to it, then it has reference to what follows. — *ἵτεον εἶναι*, that he must go; Gr. § 284, 3. (12.) — *ἤρου* from *ἡρόμην*, aor. of *ἠρώδαι*.

§ 8. *οἱ ἀνέιλεν*, sc. *ἴδυσθαι*. — *ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν*, to set out on the march upward, accus. of kindred signification; cf. *ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν* § 6 above. — *συνεστάθη* (from *συνίστημι*), was introduced.

§ 9. *συμπροθύμεϊτο*, joined in soliciting. — *ἔτι . . . ἀποπέμψειν*. A clause introduced with *ἔτι* or *ὥς* is occasionally by anacoluthon finished with an infinitive instead of a finite mode. Cf. *ὥς . . . παραδώσειν*, 7, 5, 8. *ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα*, as soon as. — *εἰς Πισίδας*; cf. note 1, 1, 11.

§ 10. *ῥῆει*, sc. *ὁ Πρόξενος*. — *δμως*, nevertheless, i. e. notwithstanding their fear and unwillingness. — *οἱ πολλοί*, the most (of them). Some according to 1, 4, 7, left the army at that time. — *δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων κ.τ.λ.*, from a feeling of shame both towards one another etc.; *ἀλλήλων* and *Κόρου* are objective gen.; cf. note on *ἐαυτοῦ*, 2, 6, 19.

§ 11. *ἔπνου λαχόν* (from *λαγχάνω*); for the government of *ἔπνου*, see Gr. § 278, 3. (b.) (γ.) — *ἔδοξεν*: an instance of asyndeton, such as is very common; when a sentence more fully explains what the foregoing expresses in general terms; cf. 4, 8, 8; 4, 7, 10. — *πᾶσαν*, sc. *τὴν οἰκίαν*: it seemed that all the house. To correspond with the foregoing personal construction, *ἔδοξεν . . . σκηπτὴς*, a thunderbolt seemed, we should have here *πᾶσα*, all the house seemed. Cf. 1, 4, 18, *ἔδοκει*.

§ 12. ἀπηγέρθη (from ἀνεγείρω), was aroused, awoke. — πῃ μὲν . . . πῃ δέ, in one respect . . . but in another respect. — ὡς εἶδεν ἔδοξε, he seemed to see, it appeared to him in a dream that he saw. — μὴ οὐ δύναται, lest he should not be able, is to be connected with ἐφοβεῖται.

§ 13. οὐοῖν τι κ.τ.λ. But of what import it is to have (lit to see) such a dream, it is permitted to discover etc. — πρῶτον μὲν; the correlative clause is ἐκ τούτου § 15. — εἰκός; ἐστὶ is regularly omitted with this adjective. — ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, cf. 1, 1, 4. — τί ἐμποδόν, sc. ἐστὶ, what is in the way, what hinders; this question is equivalent to οὐδὲν ἐμποδόν; and hence it is followed by the two negatives μὴ οὐ, which according to the English idiom we render simply *that*. Gr. § 318, 10; cf. μὴ οὐ, 2, 8, 11. — ἐπιδόντας, having lived to see; cf. 7, 1, 30; 7, 6, 31.

§ 14. ὅπως κ.τ.λ., but how we shall defend ourselves etc. — ἐξόν, cf. note 2, 5, 22. — ποίαν ἡλικίαν; see Introduction § 1.

§ 15. ἐκ τούτου, cf. note 1, 8, 11. — ἄνδρες, cf. note 1, 8, 3. — οὔτε . . . οὔτε, neither . . . nor; οὐδέ, not even. — ὑμεῖς, sc. δύνασθε παθεῖν. — ἐν οἷς ἐσμέν, in what (dangerous) circumstances we are.

§ 16. δῆλον ὅτι although written in two words is often employed as an adverb, in the sense *manifestly*; and is not unfrequently introduced in the midst of the clause; cf. § 35 below. — πρότερον . . . πρὶς, cf. note on πρόθεν . . . πρὶς, 1, 1, 10. — οὐ . . . ἐξέφηναν (from ἐκφαίνω), did not declare. — ἀγωνιούμεθα (from ἀγωνίζω), Gr. § 117.

§ 17. ὑφίστασθαι, to be negligent, to yield. — ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, cf. note on ἐπὶ τῷ, 1, 1, 4. — ὅς is causal, since he, or, from him who; it introduces the reason for the question, "what do we think we shall suffer?" — καὶ τοῦ . . . καὶ τοῦ; the repetition of the article and also of the conjunction gives more prominence to each adjective. — καὶ τεθνηκότας ἤδη, even when already dead. This in the mind of a Greek would greatly heighten the abuse. Cf. Herodot. 7, 238. — τὴν χεῖρα; τὴν δεξιάν, 1, 10, 1. — ἡμᾶς subject of παθεῖν. Regularly when the subject of the infin. is the same as the subject of the governing verb, it is omitted with the infin.; Gr. § 307, 4. Here however it is expressed and also stands first in the sentence as being the emphatic word; Krüg. and Hert. are inclined to consider the construction an anacoluthon, the sentence commencing as though it should have ended with ποιῆσαι αὐτόν instead of παθεῖν;—an improbable explanation. — ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.; an independent sentence joined to a relative clause. Render, who made an expedition against him etc. — ὡς . . . ποιήσαντες, cf. note on ὡς, 1, 1, 2.

§ 18. ἄρ' οὐκ . . . ἔλθοι, would he not have recourse to every means; ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐλθεῖν = πάντα ποιῆσαι at the end of the §, and in § 35. — αἰκωόμενος implies both ignominy and suffering: τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκωόμενος, having insulted and tormented us to the last degree; τὰ ἔσχατα is the object of αἰκω-.



— τοῦ στρατεύουσι κ.τ.λ. depends on φόβον. — ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, cf. ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, § 17. — ποιητέον, see Gr. § 284, 8. (12.)

§ 19. διαθεράμενος . . . ἔχουεν, considering in respect to them how extensive a country and what sort of a country they possessed; αὐτῶν depends on the following relative clause considered logically as a single word. — χρυσὸν δέ, without a repetition of the relative ὅσον; as in § 40. ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν . . . ἀθύμως δέ: not ὡς ἀθύμως δέ. — ἐσθήτα, like Latin vestis, Eng. apparel, has a collective signification.

§ 20. ὅποτε ἐνθυμούμην, whenever I considered. The optat. is here iterative; cf. note 1, 5, 2. — ἔτι . . . οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖν, that we shared in nothing of etc.; Gr. § 273, 8. (b.) — ὅτου, the means with which; gen. of price; Gr. § 273, 2. (c.) — ἤδευ . . . ἔχοντας, I knew that few longer possessed etc. — ἔρκους . . . ἡμῶν, sc. ἤδευ, I knew that our oaths restrained us; περιέσθαι with its complement depends on ἔχοντας. — ἐντορε qualities ἐφοβούμην.

§ 21. ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, these good things (above enumerated). — ἀθλα is a predicate: as prizes. Supply τούτων before ὅποτεροι, (for those) whichever party of us etc. The allusion to their national games would be very inspiring to the Greeks.

§ 22. αὐτοῖς, them, i. e. the gods; ἐπιорκεῖν θεοὺς is analogous to ὁμνᾶν θεοῖς. Gr. § 279, 4. — τῶν θεῶν ἔρκους, cf. 2, 5, 7. — πολλὸ qualifies μέγιστοι: cf. 1, 5, 2; 3, 2, 15.

§ 23. ἔτι δέ, furthermore; cf. 3, 2, 28. — ἔχομεν . . . ἔχομεν δὲ καί. In anaphora, μὲν is generally wanting when the second member has δὲ καί; when the second member has only δέ, μὲν is commonly expressed with the first. — ψύχη καὶ δάλη, cold and heat. The plural is used in Greek denoting what had been experienced at different times and in different degrees. — σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς, with the assistance of the gods. The frequency and the apparent reverence with which Xen. refers to the gods are worthy of notice. — οἱ ἄνδρες is here spoken of the enemy.

§ 24. ἀλλὰ belongs to μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, but since others also are probably considering these things, let us not etc. — πρὸς, Gr. § 298, 2. (c.) — παρακαλοῦντες, like συγκαλοῦμεν, § 46, is futuro; Gr. § 117. — τοῦ ἐξομῆσαι depends on ἔρξωμεν. Gr. § 271, 4. — φάνητε: for a similar asyndeton, cf. ἴωμεν, 6, 5, 21.

§ 25. ἐγώ, σύ, ἡμεῖς, and ὑμεῖς are often much less emphatic than ego, tu, nos, and vos. Krüg. — οὐδὲν . . . ἡλικίαν, I do not allege my age as any excuse; cf. § 14. — ἐρύκειν is chiefly poetic.

§ 26. ἦν βοιωτίδων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, instead of the simpler and more common form of expression βοιωτίδων τῇ φωνῇ εἶπεν. Cf. note 1, 9, 14. — ἄλλως πως . . . ἦ: cf. § 20 above. — σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, that he could obtain safety. — εἰ δύναιτο, sc. τὸν βασιλέα πείσαι.

§ 27. μεταδὲ ὑπελαβέν, *interrupting (him) in the midst (of his remarks).* — οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ (is far more emphatic than οὔτε . . . οὔτε), *not even . . . nor indeed.* — ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς, *in the same place with these.* Cf. note on ἡμῖν, 2, 5, 39. For an explanation of the allusion, see 2, 1, 8. — μέγα φρονήσας, *having become proud.* — ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *on account of this,* — the death of Cyrus.

§ 28. τί οὐκ ἐποίησεν, *what did he not do,* expresses in the form of a question the same idea as πάντ' ἐποίησε in a direct form. Cf. § 18 above.

§ 29. αὐτοῖς, i. e. τοῖς Πέρσαις, implied in βασιλεὺς expressed above. Cf. note on οἱ δέ, 1, 10, 4. — οὐ νῦν . . . δύνανται, *are they not now, the wretched men, though beaten . . . , unable even to die ;* being prevented, as he seems to imply, from putting an end to their existence by their being bound. — καὶ μάλ' . . . ἐρώντες τούτου, *even though passionately longing for it.* τούτου, i. e. τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν. — πάλιν is comm. understood as qualifying πείθειν . . . λόγας; Grote however understands it as qualifying κελεύεις.

§ 30. μήτε . . . τε, cf. note 2, 2, 8. — προσίσθαι, *to be admitted.* — εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς: for the construction, cf. ἐν ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς § 27 above. — ἀφελομένους and ἀναθέντας agree with ἡμᾶς understood, the subject of χρῆσθαι. — ὡς τοιούτῳ, *as such a person ;* one on whom they had placed baggage (σκεῦη ἀναθέντας).

§ 31. τούτῳ . . . τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδέν, *there belongs to this fellow nothing of Boeotia.* Gr. § 273, 3. (b.) (γ.) — ἀμφοτέρα . . . τετρανημένον, *having both ears bored.* For the construction, cf. note on ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, 2, 6, 1. The practice of boring the ears was regarded with abhorrence by the Greeks; and as belonging only to the barbarians. — καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως, *and so it was.* The Greeks discovered this on examination.

§ 32. οἶχοιτο, *was gone ;* οἶχομαι and ἤκω though present in form are perfect in meaning.

§ 33. τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων, *the front of the encampment ;* the place where the arms were stacked; cf. note 2, 2, 20. — Ὅν ἐγένοντο and ἀμφὶ τοὺς κ.τ.λ., cf. note 1, 2, 9. — μέσαι νύκτες, cf. note 1, 7, 1.

§ 34. καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν, *both to come together ourselves ;* αὐτοῖς in apposition with ἡμῖν. — ἅπερ . . . ἡμᾶς, sc. ἔλεξας, *the very things which (you said) to us also.*

§ 35. ταῦτα μὲν has nothing properly corresponding to it in what follows; since with ἡμῖν δέ a different turn is given to the sentence from what would have been suggested by ταῦτα μὲν. — δῆλον ὅτι, cf. note § 16 above.

§ 36. μέγιστον . . . καιρὸν, *a most important opportunity.* — ἀθύρους, sc. ὕμνους.

§ 37. ἴσως in courteous language was used by the Greeks even where

no actual doubt existed. — *δικαιον*, cf. note 2, 5, 41. — *θυμᾶς . . . τούτων*, *that we surpass them somewhat*. — *θυμῆς . . . ὑμῆς*: the anaphora without *μέν* and *δέ* is far more emphatic than with these particles. — *χρήμασι*: the officers received higher pay than the common soldiers; cf. 7, 2, 36. — *τούτων* depends on *ἐπλεονεκτήετε*, Gr. § 275. 1. — *ἄξιόν . . . αὐτοῦς*, *it is becoming that you consider yourselves etc.*

§ 38. *εἰ . . . ἀντικατασταθῶσιν*, *if you would see that instead of those who have perished . . . be appointed*; *ὅπως* after *ἐπιμελέομαι*, *μέλει* and verbs of similar meaning, is more commonly followed by the fut. indic.; yet here we have the subjunct. and in 1, 8, 18; 2, 6, 8; 7, 7, 44, the optat. — *ὥς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν*, *to speak briefly, to comprehend all in one word*; properly to say it when one has brought the whole together into a small compass. With *συνελόντι* we are not to understand *λόγῳ*, but rather the dat. of a person. See Gr. § 284, 3. (10.) (a.) — *ἐν δὲ δὴ . . . παντάπασιν*, *but above all in military achievements*; supply mentally *ἀνευ γὰρ . . . γένοιτο*.

§ 39. *ἐπειδὴν δὲ κ.τ.λ. . . ἢν καὶ κ.τ.λ.*, *but when you shall have etc. . . if you will also etc.* For *ἢν* with the aor. subjunct., see Gr. § 255, Rem. 9. — *πάνν ἐν καιρῷ*, *very seasonably*.

§ 40. *ἄδδμῶς δέ*, cf. note § 19 above. — *ἐχόντων*, cf. note on *ιδόντων*, 1, 4, 12. — *ῥ, τι*: cf. note on *τί*, 1, 3, 18. — *δέοι τι*: sc. *χρήσθαι* with which *τι* is connected, as *ῥ, τι* with *χρήσαίτο*.

§ 41. *τί πέσσονται*. Recollect that *πέσσομαι* from *πάσχω* takes the accus.; but *πέσσομαι* from *πέθω*, the dat.

§ 42. *ἥ . . . ποιούσα*, *that which achieves etc.*, is the subject of *ἐστίν*, and is fem. on account of its proximity to *ισχύς*. It is easier in rendering it to follow the Greek order, *that it is neither a multitude etc. . . which achieves etc.* — *ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*, *for the most part, generally*. — *οὐ δέχονται*, *do not receive*, i. e. the enemy do not sustain the attack of such persons.

§ 43. *μαστεύουσι*: a word chiefly poetic, which however Xen. employs several times. — *ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου*, *by every means, at all events*. *ζῆν* (from *ζάω*), Gr. § 187, 3. — *τούτους* is the antecedent of *ὁπόσοι δέ*, as *οἱτοί μὲν* is the antecedent of *ὁπόσοι μὲν*. — *μᾶλλον πως . . . ἀφικνόμενος*, *in some way rather* (i. e. more frequently) *arriving etc.* — *διαγοῦρας*, *living*, agrees with *τούτους*.

§ 44. *αὐτοῦς*, is intensive, *should not only be brave men ourselves but etc.* — *παρακαλεῖν*, sc. *ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι*.

§ 45. *τοσούτον . . . ὅσον*, *in so far . . . as*. — *Ἀθηναίων εἶναι*, sc. *σε*, *that you were an Athenian*. — *ὅτι* qualifies *πλείστους*; cf. note on *ὅτι*, 1, 1, 6.

§ 46. *αἰρεῖσθε*, imperat., *do ye who need choose etc.* — *συγκαλοῦμεν*, cf. note on *παρακαλοῦντες* § 24 above.

§ 47. τὰ δέοντα, the subj. both of μέλλοιτε and of περιποιεῖτε : *that the necessary business might not be postponed but etc.* — Δαρδανεύς : from Dardanus, a city of Troas, south of Abydos. — Κλεάνωρ was already στρατηγός according to 2, 5, 37. We are to suppose therefore that the soldiers of Agias were united with those of Cleanor.

## CHAP. II.

The whole army being called together, Chirisophus and Cleanor first address the soldiers briefly, and after them Xenophon harangues the assembly at considerable length and with great skill; he concludes by proposing the order of march which is approved by all.

§ 1. τε . . . καί. Gr. § 321, 1. (c). — ὑπέφαινε, intrans., cf. 4, 2, 7; 4, 3, 9 : *day was almost beginning to dawn.* — καταστήσωτας, cf. note on λαβόντα, 1, 2, 1. — πρῶτον μὲν corresponds with ἐπὶ τούτῳ § 4; cf. note on πρῶτον μὲν, 3, 1, 13.

§ 2. ὅποτε is here causal, *since, inasmuch as.* — στερούμεθα, are *deprived of*, have lost and are now destitute of. For the difference in meaning between this and the cognate forms στερέομαι, στερίσκομαι, see L. & S. sub στερόμαι. — πρὸς δ' ἔτι, *and besides.* In Attic prose only the preposition πρὸς is thus used without a case, i. e. as an adverb; Krüg. Gr.; cf. Cyp. 2, 1, 31. — οἱ ἄμφι Ἀρμίων, 2, 4, 2.

§ 3. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων . . . ἐλθεῖν, *to go forth from the present* (difficulties). — εἰ δὲ μὴ, *but otherwise*, i. e. εἰ δὲ μὴ καλῶς νικῶντες σωσόμεθα. — ἀλλὰ . . . ἀποθνήσκωμεν, *yet at least let us die nobly.* — οἷα . . . περῆσαι, *quae utinam faciant.*

§ 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *after him*; cf. 6, 1, 11; 7, 3, 14. — ὅστις, not the same as ὅς : *a man who, such a man that he.* — γέλων . . . τῆς Ἑλλάδος, cf. 2, 3, 18. — περὶ πλείστου, cf. note 1, 9, 7. — ἂν : the condition, to which this particle must be referred, lies particularly in σώσαι : *saying that he would make it an object of the highest importance to rescue us* (if he should be able to rescue us). Cf. note 1, 6, 2. — αὐτός (recollect that it is always intensive in the nom.) before ἐξαπατήσας belongs in idea both to the verb and particip. Notice particularly the anaphora. — διοτρώπες, see 2, 5, 27. Thus he became a ξένος towards Clearchus, and hence his offence was particularly against Zeus ξένιος. — αὐτοῖσι τούτοις, *by these very means.*

§ 5. βασιλέα καθιστάει : cf. 2, 1, 4. — καὶ ἐδόκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν : the Eng. idiom requires a fuller expression, e. g. (to whom) *we gave and (from whom) we received etc.*; cf. note on ἐστρατεύσαμεν, 3, 1, 17. — καὶ οὕτως : cf. note on καὶ ταύτας, 1, 10, 18. — ἐχθίστους : an adjunct

in the superlat. degree, used as a substantive; and as such governing *καίλων*, his bitterest enemies.

§ 6. ἀλλὰ . . . ἀποτίσωτο, but may the gods punish them as they deserve; ἀπό in comp. with τίσωτο denotes the idea deserved or due; cf. ἀπύρουν, 1; 2, 11; ἀποθούουσιν, § 12 below.

§ 7. ὁρθῶς ἔχειν, that it was right, depends on νομίζων. — ἐν τοῦτοις, in these, i. e. in his most beautiful armor.

§ 8. διὰ φιλίας λέναι, lit. to go through friendship, i. e. to be friendly; διὰ παντός πολέμου λέναι, lit. to go through perpetual war, i. e. to be perpetually at war; Gr. § 291, 1. (1.) (b.) — τοὺς στρατηγούς . . . ὅσα πεπόνθασιν, seeing the generals what they have suffered (a construction called anticipation or prolepsis); in an Eng. idiom, seeing what the generals etc. Cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων, 1, 1, 5. — σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, cf. note on σὺν τοῦτοις, 2, 1, 12. — ὧν = τούτων ᾧ, for those things which; the gen. depends on δίκην.

§ 9. οἰωνός, an omen. For an account of the various kinds of omens, see Dic. Antiqq. art. Divinatio, p. 517. The omen says Xen. occurred while we were speaking περὶ σωτηρίας, hence it was thought to be from Zeus Soter. — τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος. An appellative attached to the name of a god is commonly placed after the name; and as the appellative is of the nature of an adjective, the article is either placed before both or is omitted with both. Hert.; cf. 4, 8, 25; 6, 1, 22; 7, 6, 44; yet 6, 2, 15, is an exception. For the construction of appellatives with other proper names, see Gr. § 244, 7, Rem. 5. — ἐξασθαι depends on δοκεῖ. — οὐρου, when or where; it includes both ideas. Cf. ἐνθα, 5, 1, 1. — ἀνατενᾶτω τὴν χεῖρα, let him raise the hand. The Greeks voted in all of the various ways which are common among us, by the voice, by raising the hand, by ballot, and by a division of the assembly. For the last-named method, cf. Thucyd. 1, 87. Raising the hand (χειροτονία, χειροτονεῖν, διαχειροτονία, διαχειροτονεῖν), being both the easiest and the most unequivocal method, was also the most common.

§ 10. ἐπιωρκήκασιν, have been guilty of perjury, in that they took the oath with the intention of breaking it: τοὺς ὅρκους λελόκασιν, have broken their oaths, have actually carried into effect that which they intended to do when they took the oaths. — ἐχόντων gen. abs., things being thus. — With εἰκόσ, ὅηλον, οἶόν τε, used impersonally, ἐστὶ is often omitted; and oftener still with ἀνάγκη.

§ 11. ἔπειτα δέ. That which would naturally follow these words is joined by an anacoluthon to the sentence introduced by γάρ. — ἀναμμήσκω takes two accusatives ὁμᾶς and τοὺς κινδύνους. Gr. § 280, 3. — σώζονται τε . . . οἱ ἀγαθοί, and that the brave are delivered etc. — ἐλθόντων . . . Περσῶν, for when the Persians came; μέν is here a correlative

of *ἔπειτα* § 13. Allusion is evidently made to the invasion in 490, B. C., when the Persians for the first time landed in Greece. — *στόλπ*, cf. note on *σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι*, 1, 7, 1. — *ἀφανιούντων* fut. of *ἀφανίζω*. Gr. § 117. — *ὥς . . . Ἀθήνας*, as if to blot Athens out of existence again; *αὐθις* not implying any previous destruction of the city, but simply that it should again become the same as it was before it had any existence.

§ 12. *εὐχόμενοι* belongs logically to *ἔδοξεν*, as though perhaps *ἐψηφίσαντο* or some similar word were used. The anacoluthon is less noticeable, inasmuch as both *κατακάνοιεν* and *εἶχον* intervene. — *οὐκ εἶχον*, had not (the ability), were not able. The number of Persians who fell in the battle of Marathon, according to Herod. 6, 117, was 6400; but according to the representation of Xen. it must have been much greater, else the Athenians would already have ceased making the annual offerings. — *ἀποθούουσιν*. The sacrifices had been promised to the goddess and hence were considered due (*ἀπο*). Cf. note on *ἀποτίσσαντο*, § 6 above.

§ 13. *τὴν* (before *ἀναριθμητὸν*) the (well known), that. — *ἦλθεν* in 480 B. C. — *καὶ τότε*, then also (as well as in the battle of Marathon, ten years before). — *ἔστι*, Gr. § 85, 1. — *ἀλλὰ*, but only; cf. 1, 4, 18; 6, 4, 2.

§ 14. *οὐ μὲν δὴ*: cf. note 1, 9, 13. — *ἐρῶ* fut., comm. referred to *φημί* as a present. — *ἀλλ' . . . ἀφ' οὗ*, but there are not yet many days since; supply in this clause *εἶσιν*, which in adverbial formulas of this nature is not commonly expressed.

§ 16. *αὐτῶν* depends on *ἄπειροι*: Gr. § 273, 5. (e.) — *ἔμετρον*, so. *ἔν*: cf. note on *μεστὰς*, 1, 10, 18. — *εἰς αὐτοὺς* properly signifies (says Krüg.), into the midst of them, stronger than *ἐπὶ*: cf. 4, 3, 29; 4, 5, 18. — *πεῖραν . . . αὐτῶν*: cf. note on *Κύρου πείρα*, 1, 9, 1.

§ 17. *μηδὲ . . . δόξετε*, nor imagine. In prohibitions, *μή* is used with the present imperat. or aor. subjunct.; cf. 6, 6, 18. — *μείον ἔχειν*, that you are inferior, that you suffer disadvantage; cf. *μείον ἔχων*, 1, 10, 8. — *εἰ*, that; see L. & S. *εἰ*, II. — *οἱ Κύριοι*, the forces of Cyrus, meaning of course the barbarian forces. — *γούν* confirms the foregoing assertion by an undeniable fact. — *πρὸς ἐκείνους*, i. e. *τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένους*.

§ 18. *ἐνθυμηθῆτε*, do ye consider. We should expect, from the foregoing *εἰ δέ τις . . . ἀθυμεῖ*, the 3d pers. sing. *ἐνθυμηθήτω*.

§ 19. *τῶν ἰππέων* is governed by the comparative degree. — *πολύ* qualifies *ἀσφαλεστέρον*; though removed from it by several words, the arrangement is not unusual. — *βεβηκότες*, standing firm; cf. Oecon. 8, 17, where this word is predicated of a house. — *ἐτον* depends on *τενέμεθα*. — *ἐν μόνῳ*, in one thing alone. — *προέχουσιν ἡμᾶς*: *προέχειν* regularly governs the gen., Gr. § 275, 1; yet in Eurip. Hippol. 1365, it also takes the accus. *σφοδρῶν πάντας ὑπερέχων*.

§ 20. τοῦτο, at this, viz. ὅτι κ.τ.λ.; for the construction, cf. οὐδέν, 1, 8. — κρείττον, sc. ἐστί. — οὐς . . . ἄνδρας = τοὺς ἄνδρας (ἡγεμόνας ἔχειν) οὐς. For the antecedent in the relative clause, cf. note 1, 2, 1. — εἰσονται, see οἶδα, Gr. § 195. — τὰς ἐκτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα. When the gender of two connected nouns is different, the article is seldom omitted with the second noun.

§ 21. πρότερον, sc. σκέψασθε, consider whether. — ἧς, object of παρῆχον, but attracted to the case of the antecedent. — πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, for much money. Cf. the construction of εἶπον, 3, 1, 20. — ἔχοντας agrees with the subject of ἀνείσθαι, ἡμᾶς understood. — αὐτοὺς is intensive, agreeing with the implied subj. of λαμβάνειν, or that we ourselves should take (provisions).

§ 22. εἰ . . . κρείττονα, lit. but if you know these things that they are better; cf. note on τῶν βαρβάρων . . . ὧς, 1, 1, 5. — ἔπορον: cf. note on φοβερότατον 2, 5, 9. — καὶ . . . διαβάντες, and if you think that you have been greatly deceived in having crossed (them). — σκέψασθε, εἰ: after verbs of doubting, considering and the like, the Greeks used simply εἰ, not only to denote improbability, but also probability, where we should employ a negative: so here, whether the barbarians have not etc. — ἄρα, see Gr. § 324, 3. — προῖοῦσι, to (persons) advancing; Gr. § 284, 3, 10.

§ 23. μήτε . . . γε: cf. 2, 2, 8. — δέησουσιν from δέημι, to allow to pass; cf. 4, 1, 8; 5, 4, 2. — οὐδ' ὧς: cf. note 1, 8, 21. — Μουσούς: cf. 1, 6, 7; 2, 5, 13. — ἄκορτος: cf. note 1, 8, 17. — ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ χάρῃ instead of ἐν τῇ χάρῃ αὐτοῦ: cf. the repetition of Κύρου 1, 4, 12; τῶν βαρβάρων 4, 4, 21. — Πισίδας: cf. note 1, 1, 11. — αὐτοὶ εἰδομεν, 1, 2, 19. — τούτων, i. e. τῶν Περσῶν, implied in βασιλεύς, cf. note 3, 1, 29.

§ 24. ἡμᾶς, subj. of εἶναι, stands at the beginning of the sentence to give it more prominence. — ἂν . . . ἔγωγε, I for my part should say. The particle ἂν suggests the condition εἰ μὴ ἐδεδοίκειν: in place of which we have below § 25, ἀλλὰ δέδοικα: cf. 4, 2, 10. — τοῦ . . . ἐκπέμψειν limits δμήρους, hostages as a pledge that he would send etc. — καὶ . . . γε, and even, cf. 7, 2, 38; in the next sentence, καὶ . . . γε, and at least, cf. 3, 3, 5. — ἂν before οἶδα qualifies ἐποίει.

§ 25. ἀλλὰ γάρ, but (I do not advise that we actually make such preparation) for. — ἅπαξ, cf. note 1, 9, 10. — καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας, beautiful and stately. These two words are often united in the Greek writers, because the latter idea was considered an important element of perfect beauty. Cf. *Odys.* 15, 418; *Xen. Mem.* 2, 1, 22; *Oecon.* 10, 2. — μή, although expressed above, is repeated on account of the intervening clause. So cf. § 85 below; *ἔτι* 5, 6, 19. — οἱ λωτοφάγοι, the lotus-eaters. Allusion is made to the companions of Ulysses who ate of the lotus; *Odys.* 9, 91 etc.

§ 26. *ἐξόν*: cf. note 2, 5, 22. — *τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας*, those who now live at home (i. e. in Greece) without a fortune, object of *δρᾶν*; *πλουσίους* is predicated of *τοὺς . . . πολιτεύοντας*. — *ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους*, having migrated hither, is commonly understood as referring to *αὐτοῖς*, cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1. — *ἀλλὰ γάρ*, but (no more on this point) for.

§ 27. *ἡμῶν* governed by *στρατηγῇ*. — *ἔπειτα*, cf. note 1, 3, 2. — *ἐχλῶν παρέχουσιν*, occasion difficulty. — *ἔγειν* depends on *ἐχλῶν*, Gr. § 306, Rem. 10.

§ 28. *ἀπαλλάξωμεν*, an exhortation, let us etc. — *κρατουμένων* depends on *ἀλλότρια*. Gr. § 271, 3. *all things are forfeited on the part of those who are conquered*. — *τοὺς πολεμίους*, sc. *εἶναι*.

§ 29. *ὁρᾶτε γάρ*. This sentence states the reason for the following (introduced by *ὅν* § 30); cf. 5, 1, 8; 5, 8, 11; 6, 4, 8. When the reason denoted by *γάρ* is thus placed first in order, *γάρ* corresponds to the Eng. *since*. — *καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους*, even the enemy; *καὶ* suggests the notion; — if the enemy entertained such an opinion, how fully ought we also to be convinced of the importance of order and discipline. — *τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι*, another instance of *anticipation*, instead of *ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολ.*; cf. note 1, 1, 5. — *πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν*, cf. note 1, 1, 10.

§ 30. *τοὺς νῦν*. The position of this phrase is determined by the effort to place the words which are antithetical near together. So also *νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν*. — *τῶν πρόσθεν*, sc. *ἀρχόντων*.

§ 31. *ἢν ψηφίσῃσθε*. The first conditional clause belongs to the following: *and if you will resolve, in case any one shall be disobedient*. The same arrangement occurs 7, 3, 37; cf. 3, 1, 39. — *τὸν . . . ἐντυχάζοντα*: lit. *that the one of you on each occasion (ἄελ) falling in (with him, i. e. τῷ ἀπειθεῦντι)*. — *οὐδ' ἐνί* is more emphatic than *οὐδενί*, not even one man.

§ 32. *εἰ . . . βέλτιον*, sc. *δοκεῖ*: lit. *if any thing else seem better than in this way*. There would be more uniformity in the expression by substituting *ἄλλῃ* for *τι ἄλλο*, or else *ταῦτα* for *ταύτη*. — *ὁ ἰδιώτης*, the common soldier; cf. 1, 3, 11.

§ 33. *οἷς* by attraction instead of *ἡ*. — *καὶ αὐτίκα*, presently also, not simply now. — *ἀνέτειναι*: on the asyndeton, see note 1, 3, 20.

§ 34. *προσθεῖν*, impers., governs *ὧν*, *what there is need of in addition*. — *ἔπου* = *ἐκεῖσε ἔπου*, to that place where; cf. οὗ 2, 1, 6. — *πλέον*: cf. note 1, 2, 11. — *ἀπεχούσας*, distant, agrees with *κώμας*.

§ 35. *εἰ . . . εἰ*: cf. note on *μή*, § 25.

§ 36. *ἐπλῶν*: cf. note on *τὰ ἐπλα*, 2, 4. — *τίνα* is the subj. of *ἡγείσθαι* and both depend on the impers. *χρή*, *who ought to lead, whose duty it is to lead* etc. — *τίνας*, sc. *χρή*. — *πλασίον* signifies a hollow rectangle (not necessarily a square). It was the ordinary arrangement of



forces in a retreat through a plain country; especially where they were beset by cavalry and light-armed troops; cf. Hellen. 4, 3, 4. — ἐπὶ τῶν πλεονῶν ἐκατέρων, upon each of the sides; one would expect here ἐκατέρας. The plural seems to be used here, as also in § 37, because each side consisted of several ranks. — τοῖς τεταγμένοις, those who have been arranged, those who have been appointed to their place.

§ 37. ἐπειδὴ . . . ἔστι: he was entitled to the post of honor, because the Lacedaemonians at that time held the hegemony among the Greeks: cf. 6, 1, 26. — τὸ νῦν εἶναι, for the present at least; cf. note on τὸ . . . εἶναι, 1, 6, 9.

§ 38. ἀεὶ, on each occasion; cf. ἀεὶ § 31.

§ 39. μεμνήσθω . . . εἶναι, let him remember to be etc.; if it were ὡν instead of εἶναι, the idea would be let him remember that he is etc. Gr. § 311, 7.

### CHAP. III.

Mithridates comes to the Greeks under the guise of friendship proffering his advice, while his real object is manifestly to ascertain their plans. The Greeks resolve to listen to no more terms from the Persians. After crossing the river Zabatas, being annoyed by the enemy's cavalry and light troops, they concert measures to supply this deficiency in their forces.

§ 1. ἀνέστησαν: cf. note 6, 2, 5. — στου depends on δέοιτο (whatever any one needed); it is limited by τῶν περιττῶν, and its antecedent is the object of μετεδίδωσαν. — εἰς ἐπήκοον: cf. 2, 5, 38.

§ 2. Κύρῳ πιστός: cf. 2, 5, 35. — εἵνους, sc. εἰμὶ, which is suggested by ἐγώ, . . . ἦν, although as is often the case in ellipses the tense is different. The form to be supplied may also differ in number, person, and mood from the form expressed. Krüg. — δρῶν: for this form of the optat., see Gr. § 137, 4. — καὶ . . . ἔχων, having also, etc., i. e. not simply alone. — πρὸς με differs from πρὸς ἐμέ in that the enclitic με is less prominent than the orthotone ἐμέ. Cf. Gr. § 35, 8. — ὡς φίλον: it is more common to repeat the preposition (in this instance πρὸς) when the comparison follows as here. — φίλος opposed to the idea πολέμιος; εἵνους, το ἐχθρός.

§ 3. ἔλεγε: cf. note 2, 3, 21. — τις, any one. The allusion is to Tissaphernes.

§ 4. τῶν Τισσαφέρους τις οἰκείων. For the same position of τις, see 2, 5, 32; 5, 7, 19. Cyr. 5, 4, 1; 7, 2, 3. Thucyd. 1, 45. But τῶν τις οἰκείων without Τισσαφέρους would be only Ionic. Hert. — πίστεις ἔνεκα, for the sake of fidelity, to secure fidelity, i. e. the fidelity of Mithridates.

§ 5. *ἔστε* followed by *εἶναι* (which denotes continued existence) we render, *while, as long as*; followed by *γίγνεσθαι* (which denotes the beginning of an action, the coming into existence), we render it *until*. — *Νίκαρχον*: cf. 2, 5, 33. Whether they were the same person, is doubtful. — *ῥχετο ἀπιών*: cf. 2, 4, 24; 2, 6, 3.

§ 7. *ἐγένοντο*: *Μιθριδάτης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ*. — *τῶν ὄπλων*: as in 3, 2, 36. — *βραχύτερα ἢ ὥς ἐξικνεῖσθαι*: lit. *a shorter distance than so as to reach*; in an Eng. idiom, *too short a distance to reach*; Gr. § 841.

§ 8. *ἐδίωκον* has for its subj. the antecedent of *οἱ*.

§ 9. *οὔτε . . . χωρὶς*, nor were the footmen (the Greeks) able in a short space to overtake the footmen (the Persians) in fleeing from a point considerably in advance; with *ἐκ πολλοῦ*, compare *ἐκ πλείους* 1, 10, 11.

§ 10. *καὶ φεύγοντες . . . εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες*, even while fleeing . . . by shooting behind. So in later times the Parthians. Cf. Plut. Crass. 24. *ὑπέφευγον ἔμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι*. Virg. Georg. 3, 31.

§ 11. *δείλης* here means *δείλης ὀψίας*, (the later afternoon, evening,) as the words *τῆς ἡμέρας δλης* show. For the different uses of *δείλη*, see L. & S.; cf. 1, 8, 8. — *τὰς ῥώμας*: mentioned above 3, 2, 34; hence the article. — *οὐδὲν μᾶλλον*, none the more, i. e. no more than though he had remained with the phalanx.

§ 12. *ἤτιῶντο*: see note on *ἑστρατοπεδεύετο* 2, 2, 15; and on the change of mood (*ἤτιῶντο* and *μαρτυροῖη*), cf. note 2, 2, 15.

§ 13. *ἀληθῆ λέγετε*: a brief and lively expression for *τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐγένετο & λέγετε*, in truth those things which you say took place.

§ 14. *χάρις*, sc. *ἔστω*. Cf. Cyrop. 7, 5, 72; 8, 7, 3. So in Eng. the verb is often omitted: *thanks to the gods that* etc.

§ 15. *ὅσον*, as much as, here predicated of space: *such a distance that neither* etc. — *οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες*: same as *οἱ ἀκοντισταί* § 7 above. — *ἐξικνεῖσθαι*, to reach, often stands thus without any definite object. *πολύ* belongs to *χωρίον*. — *ἐν ὀλίγῳ . . . ῥύματος*, and in a short space not even though a footman were fleet would he overtake in pursuit a footman who had a bow-shot the start. *ἐκ . . . ῥύματος* is analogous to *ἐκ πολλοῦ* § 9. Cf. *ἐκ πλείους* 1, 10, 11.

§ 16. *ἡμεῖς*: we should expect here *ἡμῶν* depending on *δεῖ*, but the case is determined by the nearest verb *μέλλομεν*, being a species of attraction. Cf. note on *Πρόξενος* 2, 5, 41. — *σφενδονητῶν* depends on *δεῖ*, Gr. § 273, 5. (b.) — *τὴν ταχίστην*, cf. note 1, 3, 14. — *σφενδονῶν* depends on *διπλάσιον* used substantively. *σφενδῶνῃ* here denotes by meton. the stone which is flung. So in 3, 4, 4; 4, 3, 29; 5, 2, 14. The clause reads, *and their missile is borne even twice the distance of the stones from the Persian slings*.

§ 17. *διὰ τὸ . . . σφενδονᾶν*, from the fact that (the Persians) sling with etc.

§ 18. αὐτῶν depends on *τίνας*. — πέπνται, cf. note on ἐπέπατο 1, 9, 19. — τούτῃ: as *τίνας* was just before used, we should expect here the plural; but in using the sing. one person is presented as an example of what would be done for all. — αὐτῶν, for *them*, i. e. the slings. For the government, see Gr. § 275, 3. — τῇ . . . ἐθέλοντι, to the one who is willing being enrolled to act as *slinger*. — ἄλλην τιὰ ἀτέλειαν, something else as an immunity. Cf. note on ἄλλο δένδρον 1, 5, 5. This immunity might perhaps be exemption from the duty of acting as sentinels.

§ 19. τοὺς μὲν τινάς: cf. note on τὰς δὲ τινάς 2, 3, 15. — τῷ Κλεόρχῳ, by Clearchus, dat. of agent; Gr. § 284, 3, 11. — ἐς ἱππίας κατασκευάσωμαι, prepare for horsemen, i. e. by equipping these horses with the armor suitable for the use of horsemen.

§ 20. ἐδοκιμάσθησαν, were approved; δοκιμάζω is the common word for this idea.

#### CHAP. IV.

Contains an account of several days' march from the level country in the neighborhood of Nineveh into the hilly region bordering on the Carduchian mountains. The Greeks are at first attacked by Mithridates whom they easily repulse; afterwards, by Tissaphernes with a large army, from which they experience considerable annoyance.

§ 1. τῇ ἡλλῃ: ἡλλος preceded by the article generally means (especially in the sing. numb.) *the rest of*, but that meaning cannot be assigned to it here. Cf. 2, 1, 3; 6, 1, 15, where τῇ ἡλλῃ means as here, *on the next day*. — ἐφ' ᾗ, at which, connect in idea with ἐπιθεῖντο.

§ 2. διαβεβηκόσι, after they had crossed over; the notion of time is the prominent idea of the particip. here; so also just above διαβαίνουσιν, while crossing over. — ἂν . . . λάβῃ: cf. note on ἂν μὴ διδῷ 1, 3, 14.

§ 3. παρήγγελλτο κ.τ.λ., and orders had been given who of the targeteers should pursue etc. τῶν πελταστῶν limits οὗς the subject of διώκειν. — δαρροῦσι, particip. agreeing with τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν; more conveniently rendered as an adv. to pursue boldly. — ὥς, on the supposition that, feeling assured that. Cf. note on ὥς 1, 1, 2.

§ 4. κατελήφει, sc. αὐτούς. — σφενδόνα: cf. note on σφενδονῶν 3, 16. — ἐσήμενος, sc. ὁ σαλπικτής. Cf. note on ἐσαλπυγξε 1, 2, 17. — ἔθειον . . . εἰρητο, they to whom orders had been given ran towards the same point, i. e. towards the enemy. — οἱ δέ; i. e. οἱ πολέμοι.

§ 5. τοῖς βαρβάροις, on the side of the barbarians; dat. incomm., limiting ἀπέθανον and also ἐλήφθησαν. — ὅτι qualifies φοβερώτατον, as shocking as possible. — δρᾶν depends on φοβερώτατον, Gr. § 306, Rem. 10.

§ 6. οὕτω πράξαντες, *having fared thus, having experienced such fortune.* With οὕτω πράττειν, compare εὖ πράττειν etc. Cf. note 1, 9, 10.

§ 7. Λαρίσσα. This apparently Grecian name need not occasion surprise, since the numerous cities of this name in Greece are of Pelasgic, hence also of oriental origin. The meaning of the word Larissa is not yet settled, and in the present instance it is probably not the name by which the place went among the Persians. From its proximity to the Zab, it was evidently the city whose ruins are now called Athur (= Ashur) or Nimroud. Through the indefatigable exertions of Layard many remarkable relics of ancient Assyrian art have been recently discovered here, and are now among the most interesting objects in the British Museum. — Μηδοί: cf. note on Μηδίας 2, 4, 27. — τὸ εἶδος without μέν, as though ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν did not follow; cf. 4, 8, 9. — τοῦ . . . περιόδος, *the entire circumference.* — πλίνθοις κεραμίνας: cf. note on πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς 2, 4, 12.

§ 8. βασιλεὺς, i. e. Cyrus the Elder. — ἥλιον κ.τ.λ.; in this way certain Grecian philosophers also explained eclipses of the sun. — ἐξέλιπον, sc. τὴν πόλιν. Taking the eclipse as an unlucky omen, they were led to abandon their city.

§ 9. παρὰ, cf. note 1, 2, 13.

§ 10. πρὸς [τῇ] πόλει. If the article is the true reading, then the meaning is *near the city*, i. e. the one to which the fort belongs. — Μίσσιλα. This also, as in the case of Larissa, seems not to be the true name, but perhaps a corruption of the name given in the Aramaean rural dialect to the region of country or to the ruins. It is very surprising that Xen. did not learn what we so well know from the Grecian and Roman writers of a later period, and from the Arabic writers of the middle ages, as well as from the interesting discoveries of recent times,—the fact that he was among the ruins of Nineveh (ἡ Νῖνος), once the capital of the old Assyrian empire, a city described in the most glowing terms by the Greeks themselves. It was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, nearly opposite the modern city of Mosul; and was built almost entirely of the shelly marble (λίθος κογχυλιάτης) in which the adjacent country abounded.

§ 11. ὑπὸ Περσῶν: this construction is employed because ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχήν (= ἐστερήθησαν τῆς ἀρχῆς) is pass. in idea:—*lost the government, were deprived of the government*; cf. 7, 2, 22.

§ 12. χρόνῳ, *by time*;—the means of subsistence being consumed by the length of the siege. — ἐμβροτήτους, *mad, insane*; or as others understand it *terrified by a storm.* — ἐδῶ from ἀλίσκομαι: observe that all the parts of this verb are pass. in meaning, though some of the forms are in the act. voice.

§ 13. εἰς . . . σταθμόν. The preposition is to be understood as in 1,

7, 1, since *σταθμός* here denotes the notion of time. — *ἦλθεν*. The fact that he went up to Babylon with horsemen is mentioned in 1, 2, 4. Cf. also 2, 4, 8. *ἔχων* is to be repeated in mind, as though he had written *ἔχων οὖς ἦλθεν ἔχων*, he appeared with (*ἔχων*) the horsemen that he himself came (up to Babylon) with (*ἔχων*), etc. So with *ἀνέβη* and *ἐβόηθει*, repeat *ἔχων* in mind. — *ἰππέας*: antecedent in the relative clause; cf. note 1, 2, 1. — *ἔχοντες*, in *matrimonio habentis*. — *δ . . . ἀδελφός*, cf. 2, 4, 25. — *πρός*, in addition to.

§ 14. *εἶχεν . . . καταστήσας* is understood as a circumlocution for *κατέστησεν*. — *ὀπισθεν*, in the rear, i. e. of the Greeks. — *εἰς τὰ πλάγια*, in the direction towards the flanks (of the Grecian army).

§ 15. *Σκόθαι* evidently does not belong here. — *προϋμνεῖτο*, sc. *ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνδρός*. — *οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . ῥάδιον ἦν*: because the enemy stood so close together. — *ἦν* stands without *ἂν*, because the consequence was necessary and unconditional.

§ 17. *καὶ . . . Περσικά*, the Persian implements of archery also, as well as those of the Cretans. — *τοῖς Κρησί* belongs to *χρήσιμα*. — *τὰ τοξόματα* means the arrows; *τὰ τόξα*, the implements of archery including bows and arrows. — *διετέλουν χρώμενοι*, they continually used; so *δίδγειν* 1, 2, 11; *διαγίγνεσθαι* 1, 5, 6; 2, 6, 5; 4, 5, 5. — *ἐμελάντων τοξέειν*, lit. they practised to shoot, i. e. as we should say in practising they shot. — *ἄνω λέντες μακρὰν*, far upwards (lit. casting (sc. their arrows) far upward). This was done that they might the more easily recover them, without being compelled to go far from the main army. — *πολλά* belongs both to *νεῦρα* and *μόλυβδος*. Cf. note on *πολλά* 3, 1, 2.

§ 18. *μείον ἔχοντες*: cf. note 1, 10, 8.

§ 19. *πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον*, a square; cf. note 3, 2, 36. — *συνγκύπτει*, bend together, i. e. approach each other. — *τὰ κέρατα*, the wings, § 22 *αἱ πλευραί*. — *οδοῦ στενωτέρας . . . ὁρέων . . . γεφύρας*: these contingencies would now occur; for immediately north of Mosul the fruitful plain of Assyria becomes more hilly and is intersected by numerous brooks which flow down from the mountains of Kourdistan. — *ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς θηλάτας*, that the heavy-armed men are thrown out of their ranks. The heavy-armed men in the van and the rear particularly would be thus disturbed. The targeteers also in the van and rear (see 3, 3, 8; 3, 4, 40 and 43) would in like manner be thrown into confusion, but the heavy-armed alone are mentioned because they constituted the principal part of the forces at the points in question.

§ 20. *διασχῆ* (from *δίεχω*) is the opposite in meaning of *συνγκύπτω*. — *τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων*, the space between the wings. — *διδβασιν*, cf. note 2, 3, 10. — *βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος*, wishing to get over first. — *εὐεκίθετον ἦν*, it was easy to make an attack. The adjective joined to the

impersonal ἦν must be understood as a substantive predicate. Cf. προσβατὼν 4, 3, 12; and the plurals βάσιμα 3, 4, 49; βατὰ 4, 6, 17.

§ 21. ἐξ λόχους. Three of these were to constitute the van and three the rear of the square (πλαίσιον); cf. § 43 below. Each λόχος consisted of two πεντηκοστής (commanded by πεντηκοστήρης), and each πεντηκοστής of two ἐνωμοτίαι (commanded by ἐνωμοτάρχαι). — ἄλλους κ.τ.λ., and others as commanders of Pentekosties, and others as commanders of Enomoties; cf. note 1, 5, 5. — οἱτοὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι, and while they were on the march. We should expect here the gen. abs.; yet see note on μαχόμενοι 1, 8, 27. — οἱ λοχαγοί: these of course were attended by their companies (λόχοι). So also § 23. — ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων, apart from the wings; i. e. as we learn from ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι, behind the wings. Hence the definition of παρήγον, they made the men march of sideways, given by L. & S. referring to this passage, is not accurate. Translate thus, but then they led (their men) along behind the wings.

§ 22. ἂν ἐξεπίπλασαν: cf. note on ἂν ἀφείλετο 1, 9, 19. — τὸ διέχον, the vacant space. — κατὰ λόχους, with companies of a hundred men; so arranged that the lochus constituted but a single file of a hundred men deep. Thus there would be six men abreast. κατὰ πεντ., in companies of fifty; so arranged that each company constituted but a single file of fifty men deep. Thus there would be twelve men abreast. κατ' ἐνωμ., in companies of twenty-five men; so arranged as to form a single file of each company. Thus there would be twenty-four men abreast, and they would consequently fill a vacant space in the line of the square (τὸ διέχον) four times as large as the companies of a hundred.

§ 23. ἐν τῷ μέρει, in their turn; cf. 7, 6, 36. — τι, in any respect; it may be rendered perchance. — τῆς φάλαγγος depends on πού, as an adv. of place: and if perchance occasion required it (δέοι, sc. τούτους ἐπιπαρεῖναι), these were at hand (ready for assistance). — τούτῃ τῷ τρόπῳ applies unquestionably not alone to the next four marches, but to those which followed. This thought was in the mind of the writer: in this manner they continued their march without meeting with any thing worthy of notice in the next four stages (Krüger).

§ 24. εἶδον βασιλεῖον τι: they beheld a certain royal structure. This was seen from a distance, being situated on an eminence of the foremost range of the Kourdish mountains. This range extends westward to the Tigris. It is now called by the Kourds Tscha Spi; by the Arabs, Dschebol Abjad. Both signify white mountain. (Cf. §§ 30, 37, where it is called ὄρος.) — τοῦ ὄρους, the mountain, i. e. the one in sight directly before them; hence the force of the article. — ἄσμενοι. Cf. note 2, 1, 16.

§ 25. ὡς . . . ἀναβ., as if to etc.; cf. note 1, 1, 3. — τὸν ἕτερον = τὸν δευτέρον (cf. § 28). — ἔβαλλον . . . ἐτόξευον. Notice the asyndeton.

These three verbs denote the different modes of discharging missiles; namely with the hand, with slings, and with bows. — ἐπὶ μαστίγων (Gr. § 299, 1. (2.) (c).), *under the lash*; being constantly scourged. The Persian government resorted to this means of making the slavish people fight well. Cf. Herod. 7, 21, ἔρυσσον ἐπὶ μαστίγων, *they dug under the lash*, spoken of the army of Xerxes at Mt. Athos. In other passages also Herod. mentions the same practice.

§ 26. Ἑλλήνων, used adjectively. So regularly names of nations with nouns denoting persons. Cf. Ἀδάνα 5, 1, 15; Ἑλληνες 6, 5, 26. — ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ, *among the attendants of the army*; within the square of heavy-armed men.

§ 27. ἐπλῆται ὄππες. The particip. expresses the notions of time, cause, and condition. Here the notion of cause is the prominent idea, and it may be rendered, *because they were heavy-armed men*.

§ 28. ταῦτά must not be confounded with ταῦτα. — πρὶν . . . ἀντήγαγον instead of ἀναγείναι (until they should lead up); the construction ἀντήγαγον is as though οὐκ ἐκίνησαν instead of μὴ κινεῖν had preceded. Krug.

§ 29. οἱ πολλοί: the first denotes the Persians, but the second, at the end of the §, denotes the Greeks. — ἀποσημείωσαν. This form of the optat. 3d pers. plural is much less common than the termination -εῖεν. Gr. § 116, 7. It occurs again § 85 below, and 4, 3, 21; 5, 7, 20. — αὐτῶν, the Persians.

§ 30. κατὰ, *along, over*, Gr. § 292, II. (1.) (b.). — οἱ δέ: the targeteers § 28. — ἐπιπαριόντες: passing along on the mountain in a direction parallel to the main army and at no great distance from it; cf. 6, 3, 19. — εἰς τὰς κόμας: mentioned § 24, hence the article. — ἱατροὺς: doubtless the same that Cyrus had previously employed. No doubt in Greece itself the necessity of surgeons connected with the army had long before been learned.

§ 31. καὶ ἅμα adds another reason; hence = καὶ ἅμα ὅτι, *and at the same time because*. — τῷ σατραπείῳ. The satraps had to provide for the troops in their own satrapy. Cf. Cyrop. 8, 6, 3. Oecon. 4, 5 and 6.

§ 32. ἀπὸμαχοι, *away from the ranks*. Three classes were not in a condition for fighting; the wounded, those who carried the wounded, and those who had taken the armor of the persons who carried the wounded.

§ 33. πολλὸν . . . διέφερον . . . ἢ: it was far otherwise than; or in our idiom, *it was a very different thing to etc., from (what it was) to fight etc.* ἐκ χάρας ὀρμ-, *rushing out from a fixed position*. Cf. ἐκ Χερροπόρου ὀρμ. 1, 1, 9.

§ 34. τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ depends on ἀπ-, and σταδίων μείων. — ἐπιθῶνται: cf. note on κατακρήν 1, 8, 24.

§ 35. *πονηρόν*: cf. note on *φοβεράτατον* 2, 5, 9. — *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ καλόν*: cf. note 3, 1, 42. — *τοῦ . . . φεύγειν ἕνεκα, εἰ*: to the end that they may not flee, if etc. The construction is elliptical, and we may supply mentally *ὅπερ ἂν γένοιτο*, which very thing would take place if etc.; cf. 7, 8, 16. — *δεῖ . . . ἀνδρῶν*. Instead of the dat. the accus. would be the common construction with *δεῖ*. — *δωρακισθέντα* agrees with the subject of *ἀναβῆναι*. For the change from dat. to accus., cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1. With this whole passage, cf. *Cyrop.* 3, 8, 26 and 27.

§ 36. *διαγγελλομένους, that they were passing along the word*, i. e. to depart. — *ἐκήρυξε, the herald proclaimed*. Cf. note on *ἐσδάπτρξε* 1, 2, 17.

§ 37. *καὶ αὐτοί*: *et ipsi*, cf. § 44. — *χωρίον ὑπερθέξιον . . . ᾧ, a place on the right hand above (the way) where*. — *ἀκρωνυχίαν*, in apposition with *χωρίον*. — *ὅπου*, cf. note § 24. — *ὅφ' ἣν*: under which is an inadequate translation, since it does not express the notion of direction or extension contained in the accus. case; Gr. § 299, III. (1.) In German, it is expressed by *unter dem hin*. — *πεδίον*: the small level valley between the first range of mountains (cf. note § 24) and the principal range. Through it flows westward a tributary of the Tigris called Chabur. The same valley is meant by the expression *ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ* 3, 5, 2.

§ 38. *οὐρά*: *agmen extremum*, the opposite of *στόμα* (§ 42) *agmen primum*.

§ 39. *ἡμῶν*, dat. *incommodi*. Gr. § 284, 3, Rem. 4. — *τούτους, these men*, i. e. those by whom the eminence had been preoccupied.

§ 40. *ἔρημα, defenceless*. — *πῶς*, cf. note 1, 7, 2. — *τις*: *indef. one, some one*. As the reference was of course to themselves, the idea would be better expressed by the English *we*. — *ἄτελξ*: for the form, cf. note on *ἐλῶντα* 1, 8, 10.

§ 41. *αὐτοῦ* is intensive; lit. *above their own army itself*, i. e. *above their very army*. So *ipse* in Latin: e. g. *Caes. B. G. 5, 43, sub ipso vallo*; B. C. 3, 19, *ad ripam ipsam fluminis*. — *ἐαυτῶν*, i. e. the Greeks. — *βούλει*: for the three verbs which regularly take this form of the 2d pers. sing. in the Att. dialect, see Gr. § 116, 11. — *μένε . . . πορεύου*: one would expect to find with these words *οὐ μέν* as the proper antithesis of *ἐγὼ δέ*. Krüg. and Hert. say in explanation that the words *ἐγὼ δέ* were not contemplated when *μένε* and *πορεύου* were uttered. It seems rather that Xen. by giving such prominence to *ἐγὼ δέ* would indicate his own entire willingness either to go or to stay; cf. 7, 3, 36.

§ 42. *εἰπών*: an asyndeton like 4, 1, 20, and 4, 8, 6, where an answer follows immediately after a question or a proposition containing the substance of a question; and where the verb or particip. stands first. — *οἱ*, dat. from *οὗ*, governed by *οὖν* in composition with *πέμψαι*; *οἱ* of the article is a proclitic, *οἱ* of the plural of *ὅς* (the relative pron.) is always orthotone,



of the dat. is an enclitic. — μακρὸν ἦν, *it was a long distance*; i. e. too long a distance for the time allowed them, since their plan required the utmost dispatch.

§ 43. τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στ. π.; cf. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων 1, 2, 3. — τοὺς τριακοσίους . . . τῶν ἐπιλέκτων; these were half of the six companies mentioned in § 21.

§ 44. ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, *to vie (with the Greeks) in the attempt to reach the summit*.

§ 45. διακελευόμενων: cf. note on κόπτορες 2, 1, 6.

§ 46. νῦν . . . νῦν: cf. note on ὁμαῖς 3, 1, 37. — τὴν λοιπὴν, sc. ὁδόν.

§ 47. οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου . . . ἴσμεν, *we are not on equal footing*. — χαλεπῶς qualifies φέρων.

§ 48. καὶ δ: cf. note 1, 8, 16. — ἔχων, *with (it; i. e. the shield of Soteridas)*. — θώρακα . . . τὸν ἵππικόν. The breast-plate of a horseman was heavier than that of a footman. Cf. Plut. Philop. 6. — ὑπάγειν, *to lead slowly on*. — τοῖς . . . ἐπομένοις, *and those behind though following (those in front) with difficulty, to pass along by (him)*.

§ 49. ὁ δέ, *but he*, i. e. Xenophon. — ἀναβὰς, sc. ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. — βάσιμα . . . ἄβατα, sc. τῷ ἵππῳ. Cf. note on εὐεπίθετον 3, 4, 20. — ἦγεν is often used absolutely as here the accus. being omitted; *he led (his men)*, or simply *he took the lead*. — φθάγουσιν . . . πολεμίους, *they anticipate the enemy in arriving etc.*; cf. 5, 7, 16.

## CHAP. V.

The Greeks being still harassed by the Persians arrive at a point where the Carduchian mountains reach the Tigris, and hang precipitous over the river. After considerable deliberation and diligent enquiry from the captives, they resolve to attempt the passage of the mountains.

§ 1. ἀγαθῶν here denotes the means of subsistence. Cf. 3, 1, 20; 4, 6, 27; 6, 6, 1.

§ 2. καὶ γὰρ (cf. note 1, 1, 6,) explains the reason why the Greeks were dispersed in the plain for plunder. — διαβιβαζόμεναι, lit. *while being transported over*, i. e. while their owners were transporting them over; it is to be connected with κατελήφθησαν as a predicate.

§ 3. ἐννοούμενοι contains the notion of fear, and hence is followed by μή instead of ὅτι as in 3, 1, 2. — καλοῖεν, sc. οἱ πολέμοι. — ἔχοιεν, sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες. — ὁπόθεν, *any place from which*. Cf. note on ὅθεν 2, 4, 5. — τὰ ἐπιτήδεια is the object of λαμβάνοιεν.

§ 4. ἀπήσαν ἐκ τῆς βοήθειας, *returned from rendering assistance*, i. e. to the Greeks scattered through the plain and attacked by the enemy

(see § 2). It seems to be taken as a matter of course that assistance would be rendered to them, and hence the article before *βοηθείας*; although no mention had previously been made of such assistance. (Hert.) — *κατέβη*, descended, i. e. from the mountain; see end of ch. 4. — *ἤνικα* . . . οἱ Ἕλληνες, when the Greeks (returning from the assistance, i. e.) after having rendered the required assistance met him (i. e. Xenophon) on their return. — οἱ Ἕλληνες, i. e. Chirisophus and his party, who had just been opposed to the enemy.

§ 5. *ὕφιέντας*, sc. τοὺς πολεμίους, that (the enemy) are giving up etc. It depends on *ὁρᾶτε*; for the accus. and particip. instead of accus. with the infin., see Gr. § 310, 4. — *μὴ καλεῖν* . . . *χώραν* is epexegetical of *ἔ*: for what they stipulated (that we should not do, namely) that we should not set fire to the country etc. For the stipulation here alluded to, cf. 2, 3, 27. — *νῦν* . . . *ἄλλοιπῶν*, now they themselves do, setting fire (to the country) as though it belonged to another. — *καίονσι* is a brief expression for *ποιοῦσι καίοντες*.

§ 6. *βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ*, to march against. — *ὥς* . . . *ἡμετέρας*, sc. *χώρας*, as if in defence of etc.

§ 7. *σκηάς*: not properly tents, since these, according to 3, 3, 1, had been burned; but rather in general camp, or encampment, which in this instance was a village (§ 1 above). So *σκηεῖν* and *σκηροῦν* are often to be understood simply to encamp; cf. 3, 4, 32. — *στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί*: without the article, as often when several names (particularly of persons holding office) are joined together. Cf. 4, 7, 25; 6, 5, 12; 6, 6, 30. — *ἐνθεν μὲν* . . . *ἐνθεν δέ*, cf. note 2, 4, 22. — *τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος ὥς*, lit. so much in depth that, = so deep that. — *μηδὲ* . . . *βάθους*, not even the spears of (the persons) trying the depth rose above (the water). For an idea of the ordinary length of a Grecian spear, see Dict. Antiqq. p. 185.

§ 8. *κατὰ* is distributive, in companies of etc. Gr. § 292, II. (3.) (d.)

§ 9. *ἀσκῶν*: cf. note on *διφθέρας*, 1, 5, 10. — *πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.*, not I see these many sheep etc. This would require *τὰ* before *πρόβατα*. Rather, I see here many sheep etc. *πολλὰ πρόβατα* is a predicate of *ταῦτα* and hence the article is wanting. — *ἀ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα*; a brief expression for *ὅν ἀποδαρέντων τὰ δέρματα φυσηθέντα*. (Hert.)

§ 10. *τούτοις*, i. e. τοῖς δεσμοῖς. — *ὀρμίσας* . . . *ἀσπόν*, lit. having anchored each skin, i. e. having made fast each skin. — *λίθους* . . . *ὑδαρ*, by tying stones (to them) and casting (these) as anchors into the water. — *διαγαγὼν* . . . *δήσας*, having conveyed (the leathern bottles) over (the river) and having bound (them) at both ends, i. e. on each bank of the river. His object was to make, not a mere raft, but a temporary bridge.

§ 11. *μᾶλα εἴσεσθε* (fut. of *οἶδα*), you shall know for a certainty. — *ἔξει*, will hold, will prevent. In this sense the fut. *σχήσω* instead of *ἔξω* is

almost invariably used. — τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι, *from sinking*. For the negative, cf. note on τὸ μὴ καταπετρασθῆναι 1, 3, 2.

§ 12. τὸ ἐνθόμημα, *the conception, the plan*; τὸ ἔργον, *the execution*. — οἱ καλῶσυντες, *the persons that would hinder* (the execution). Cf. the construction of ὁ τελέψαν 2, 3, 5. — τοῖς πρότεροις, *the foremost*, i. e. the first men who attempted the execution of the proposed plan.

§ 13. πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα: here of course denoting only the general direction, i. e. towards the south. — κατακάσας ἔθθεν. *for they had burned down those from which etc.* The participle is here causal, and ἔθθεν = ταύτας ἐξ ὧν. — ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν, *seemed to wonder*. Such a use of ὅμοιοι ἦσαν in the sense of ἐφίκεσαν or ἐδόκειν can scarcely be found elsewhere. — τρέφονται and ἔχουσιν: for a similar change of mood, cf. 2, 1, 2; 2, 2, 15; 4, 5, 10. — ὅποι and τί: the indirect and the direct interrogative in the same construction. Cf. ποῖον and ὅπως 2, 5, 7.

§ 14. τίς ἐκδοτή, *ec. χώρα*.

§ 15. τὰ . . . εἰη, *the regions southward belonged to the (country) in the direction of Babylon etc.* — ἡ . . . φέροι: here we must supply, instead of χώρα, ὁδός: *the (way) eastward would lead etc.* — ἀπρίζειν and ἐπρίζειν are to be understood in the inverse order (χιαστῶς) of Susa and Ecbatana; as ἀπρίζειν is predicated of Ecbatana and ἐπρίζειν of Susa; cf. Cyrop. 8, 6, 22. — ἡ δὲ διαβάντι, *but the way to one having crossed over etc.* For the construction of διαβάντι, see Gr. § 284, 8. (10.) Cf. 6, 4, 1. — ὅτι: for a similar arrangement, cf. 6, 3, 11. — Καρδοῦχοις. The same that are now called Kourds; by the old Syriac writers called Kardu; and by the Armenian, Kordu, in the plural Kordukh (hence perhaps the Greek ending -χοι). By the later Greek writers the country itself was called Καρδογηνή, Κορδογηνή, and also Κορδουαία.

§ 16. βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἀκούει, *did not hear to, i. e. did not obey the king*. Gr. § 278, Rem. 18. — ἐμβαλεῖν . . . στρατιῶν: this clause is grammatically coördinate, though logically subordinate, as though it were ἐμβαλοῦσης . . . στρατιᾶς, with the omission of δέ after τούτων. It would then read, *but even on a certain occasion when a royal army of twelve myriads had made an incursion among them, no one of these returned etc.* Cf. note 1, 9, 14. — ἐπιμυγνῆναι, depends on ἔφασαν; it is here used intransitively (cf. note on συμμίζειν 2, 1, 2), in which sense ἐπιμύγνυσθαι would be more common. — σφῶν and ἐκείνων, partitive genitives, dependent on ἐπιμυγνῆναι, and not only that some of themselves transacted business with the Carduchians (ἐκείνους), but also that some of the Carduchians (ἐκείνων) engaged in business with them; σφῶν and ἑαυτοῖς being reflexives refer to the persons speaking, and thus remove the ambiguity which would arise from the use of so many pronouns in our language.

§ 17. ἐκασταχόσε εἰδέναι, *that they knew the way in every direction*. —

τούτους, i. e. τοὺς Καρδούχους. — ἔφασαν, sc. οἱ ἑλαγκότες. (*The captives*) affirmed that (*the Greeks*) having passed through these etc.

§ 18. τῆς ὥρας depends on ὀπηνίκα, at the very hour when it should seem expedient. — τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὀρέων here denotes the place for crossing the mountains, the pass; in 1, 2, 28, it denotes the act of crossing. We have here in the construction another instance of anticipation; cf. note 1, 1, 5.

## BOOK FOURTH.

Ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῇ Εὐξείνῃ Πόντῃ, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπεθυσαν ἃ εἶξαντο σωτήρια δόσειν ἔνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο. — From the entrance into the Carduchian country to the sea.

## CHAP. I.

Narrative of several days' march among the Carduchian mountains. The Greeks suffer severely from the ruggedness of the country, from the assaults of the Carduchians and from the severity of the cold. They are at last shut up in a deep valley, while the only apparent egress is occupied by the barbarians.

§ 1. ὅσα . . . ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, what hostile measures were adopted against the Greeks etc.

§ 2. ἔνθα = ἐκεῖσε ἔνθα, to the place where. We may also in English omit the demonstrative before the relative adverb: when they arrived where the river etc. — παράδος, passage along by the side (of the river). — ἀπότομα . . . ἐκρέματο (from κρεμάννυμι), hung precipitous etc.

§ 3. τῶν ἀλισκομένων = τῶν ἑλαγκότων, from those who had been taken, from the captives. Several verbs in the present, besides their proper signification, have also a sort of perfect meaning; as φεύγω, I flee, or I am banished; νικῶ and κρατῶ, I conquer, or I am conqueror; ἡττῶμαι, I am being conquered, or I am conquered; ἀδικῶ, I do injustice, or I have done injustice, am ἄδικος; so also ἀλίσκομαι, I am being taken, or less frequently I am taken. Krüg. Spr. 53, 1, 3. — περίλασι, (they might go around now), corresponds in construction to διαβήσονται, since εἰμι has a future signification. — βούλονται: cf. note on ἐὰν μὴ διδῶ 1, 3, 14. — τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγγο εἶναι: a construction not less common than αἱ πηγαὶ ἐλέγοντο εἶναι. Cf. 1, 2, 12; 1, 8, 6. — οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος is an inaccurate

form of expression instead of *ὡς πρόσω τῶν τοῦ Τίγρητος*, as is very common in comparisons. See note on *ἡλέκτρον* 2, 3, 15. — *καὶ . . . ἔχον*, and it is thus. Xen. had just spoken of it as being reported (*ἐλέγετο*), and he adds *it is really thus*. *οὕτως ἔχειν*, to have (*itself*) thus, to be thus.

§ 5. *τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν*. The Greeks divided the night into three watches, the Romans into four. — *ὅσον . . . πεδῖον*, lit. *as much as that they might pass through the plain in the darkness*; i. e. in an Eng. idiom, *so much that they might etc.* — *σκοταίους*, cf. note on *σκοταῖοι* 2, 2, 17. — *ἀπὸ*: cf. 2, 5, 32. — *ἀπὸ παραγγέλλουσας*, at the word of command. The signal was not given in this instance by the herald or by the trumpeter, lest it attract the attention of the enemy.

§ 6. *τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτόν*, that (part of the army) around himself, i. e. *his own men*. — *ὀπισθοφύλαξιν* belongs as an attributive to *ὀπλίταις*, with the *heavy-armed men who guarded the rear*. — *μή*, that, lest; *κίνδυνος* in the preceding clause implies the notion of fear. — *πορευομένων* gen. abs., while they were going; cf. *ιδόντων* 1, 4, 12. — *ἐπίσποιτο* from *ἐφέσπαι*.

§ 7. *ἀεὶ* is to be connected in idea both with *ἐφείπετο* and with *ὑπερβάλλον*: and that part of the army constantly crossing over (the summit) followed on continually (after Chirisophus) etc.

§ 8. *γυναικας . . . παῖδας*: without the article; so commonly, cf. 1, 4, 8; 5, 3, 1; 3, 1, 3. — *εἰ πως*, if in any way, or expressing what is implied, *to see if in any way*; cf. § 21 below. — *διέναι*: cf. *διήσουσιν* 3, 2, 23. — *φιλίας* it will be observed has the position of a predicate; Gr. § 245, 3. (b.) The idea is, *through the country as if (it were) friendly*.

§ 9. *ὅτε*: cf. note on *ὅστις* 1, 1, 5. — *οὔτε . . . ὑπήκουον*, neither listened to (them) while calling etc.

§ 10. *σκοταῖοι*: cf. § 5. — *τινές* added to *ὀλίγοι* denotes the idea of indefiniteness, as we say *some few*; *ὀλίγοι . . . ὄντες*, being some few (in number). Though they were but few, they had inflicted some wounds and even slain some of the Greeks. — *ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου ex improviso*.

§ 11. *ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφ-*, would have incurred the danger of being destroyed. — *συνέφρων ἀλλήλους* is understood to mean *rallied one another* (by means of fire-signals). Sintenis and Hert. with much reason approve of *συνεβόων* (instead of *συνέφρων*), *they called to one another*, as in 6, 3, 6.

§ 12. *τέ* has for its correlative *καί* before *ὅποσα*, although the last clause (being modified by the intervening words *καταλιπόντας τὰλλα*) does not altogether correspond logically to the first. — *ἀφεῖναι*, to set at liberty, from *ἀφήμι*.

§ 13. *οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες*: those who were appointed over these (captives), i. e. to have charge of them. Cf. *ἐπ' αὐταῖς* 1, 4, 2. — *ἀπόμαχαι*, cf. 3, 4, 32. — *δόξαν ταῦτα*, when these things were resolved on; accus. abs.; cf. *ἐξόν* 2, 5, 22. The particip. *δόξαν* is used with *ταῦτα* on the

same principle that the neut. plur. takes a verb in the sing. Besides this expression the Greeks used *δόξαντα ταῦτα, δοξάντων τούτων*, and *δόξαντος τούτου*. Gr. § 312, 5.

§ 14. *εἰ τι*: cf. note 1, 5, 1. — *εἰ τι . . . ἀφειμένον*, whatever they found (that was) not given up of the things mentioned. *τῶν εἰρημένων*, cf. § 12. — *οἱ δέ*, i. e. the soldiers. — *πλήρ' εἰ*, unless. — *ἔκλεψεν*, passed any thing (τι) through secretly, or by stealth, which is the same metaphor as *ἔκλεψεν*. — *οἶον*, as for example. — *τῶν εὐπρεπῶν*, gen. of the whole (often called partitive gen.) limiting *παῖδος* and *γυναικός*; lit. *having desired a boy or woman of those (that were) beautiful = having desired a beautiful boy or woman*. — *τὰ μὲν τι . . . τὰ δὲ καί*, partly . . . partly; *τὰ μὲν*, though plural in form, is not contemplated as such in idea, and hence the sing. *εἰ* is joined to it; cf. Hell. 7, 1, 46.

§ 15. *εἰς*: cf. note 1, 7, 1.

§ 16. *ἀναχέζοντες*, returning. In 4, 7, 10, *ἀνεχέζετο*. It is regularly deponent, the active form being (excepting Xen.) poetic.

§ 17. *παρεγγυῖτο*, optat. imperf. of *παρεγγυάω*. — *τότε δέ*, but in this instance, the one to be related. — *πράγμα*, trouble, difficulty, as in 6, 3, 6, and in the common formulas *πράγματα ἔχειν*, *πράγ. παρέχειν*; cf. § 22, and 1, 1, 11. — *παρελθόντι*, to (him) in passing along, i. e. to Xen.

§ 18. *Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος*: the common order would be *Κλεών. Λακ.*, Cleonymus a Laconian. — *διαμπερὲς εἰς*, sc. *τοξευθεὶς*, being shot entirely through (the helmet) into etc.

§ 19. *ὥσπερ εἶχεν*, just as he was, without delay (as the connection shows that it means). Cf. Cyp. 3, 1, 7, *εὐθὺς πορεύεται ὥσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Κύρον*. — *ἀνελεῖσθαι, δάψαι*, sc. *αὐτόν*: to take up and bury the dead was considered by the Greeks one of the most sacred and important duties.

§ 20. *ἀποκρίνεται*: on the asyndeton, see note 3, 4, 42. — *μία . . . ὁρβία*: not, *this one way which you see is steep*; that would be *αὕτη ἡ ὁδὸς κ.τ.λ.* As it stands *αὕτη* is subject, *μία ὁδὸς* predicate; with *ὁρβία* understand *οὕσα*; *this which you see is (the) only way (being) steep*. — *ἐκβασις* means a pass with reference to the idea of going out (*ἐκβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ἀγκῶν καὶ μυχῶν* § 7); *ὑπερβολή* (3, 5, 18) with reference to the idea of going over; *εἰσβολή* (1, 2, 21), with reference to the idea of entering in.

§ 21. *ταῦτα*, for this reason; so also *τοῦτο*; as *ὃ* and *ἃ*, on which account; and very often *τι*, on what account? why? — *εἰ πως*, cf. note § 8 above. — *οὐ φαίνω*: cf. § 24, and note 1, 3, 1.

§ 22. *ὅπερ*, which very thing, i. e. the lying in ambush. — *αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκεν*, for this very purpose. *τούτου* here denotes what follows (*ὅπως . . . χρησάμεθα*).

§ 23. οὐκ ἔφη, sc. εἰδέναι ἄλλην . . . φανεράν. — φόβον, reasons for fear, means of exciting fear.

§ 24. αὐτῇ dat. of possessor, dependent on ἐτόγγχευε sc. οὔσα. For the difference between the dat. and the gen. of the possessor, see Gr. § 284, 3, (9), Rem. 5. — παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη, with a husband (for she had been) given in marriage (to him); ἐκδεδομένη is expressed to show that ἀνδρὶ is to be understood in the sense of husband. — αὐτός, he himself, belongs to the subject of ἡγήσεσθαι. Gr. § 307, 4. — ὁδόν depends on ἡγήσεσθαι (cognate accus. Gr. § 278, 2); that he himself would lead them by a way possible even for etc.

§ 25. ὃ depends on προκαταλήψοιτο. (Krüg.) It must be supplied with παρελθύν. ὃ, as is often the case with a relative pronoun, is most conveniently rendered by a conjunction and demonstrative pronoun: and unless some one should previously occupy this, it would be etc.

§ 26. πελταστής is to be taken as an attributive of λοχαγούς (cf. note on οπισθοφύλαξιν § 6 above); hence = τῶν πελταστῶν. — ὑποστάς ἐβελοντής, having offered himself as a volunteer.

§ 27. ὀφίσταται, offers himself (as a volunteer). Notice the asyndeton. Cf. note 1, 3, 20. Observe also that the verb is sing. Cf. note on ἐπεμφε 2, 4, 16. — Μεθυδριεύς: from Methydrium, a place not far from the later Megalopolis.

§ 28. τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν (in § 27) would lead us to expect here τῶν δὲ γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων Ἀριστέας κ.τ.λ., but the repetition of ἐρωτῶσιν occasions a change in the construction. — γυμνήτων is an attributive of ταξιάρχων, cf. note on πελταστής § 26. — πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ: cf. note 1, 9, 2.

## CHAP. II.

The Greeks escape from the valley in which they were enclosed, being conducted by a captive over a circuitous route; and finally reach the river Centrites, which divides the Carduchian country from Armenia.

§ 1. οἱ δέ, and they; i. e. Xenophon and Chirisophus. — ἐμφαγόντας: lit. having eaten in, i. e. (as Hert. thinks), having eaten in haste. Cf. 4, 5, 8; also ἐμπιῖν, Cyrop. 7, 1, 1. — συντίθενται, they agree with (them). — τὴν νύκτα belongs to φυλάττειν. — φυλάττειν σημαίνει, and ἵεναι (spoken of the party with the guide), συμβοηθήσειν (spoken of Xen. and Chiris.) all depend on συντίθενται. — τοὺς μὲν denotes the party with the guide. — ἔνυ ὄντας, being above, i. e. after having arrived on the summit. — αὐτοί, they themselves, expressed for the sake of the antithesis. Cf. note on αὐτός 4, 1, 24.

§ 2. *πληθὺς*: without the article, as is often the case with *ἔσος*, *θύες*, *βάθος*, and similar expressions. — *ὅσας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ*: the whole expression means simply *rain*. Sometimes *ὅσας* is used alone and sometimes with *ἄνωθεν* meaning *rain*. — *καὶ . . . περιδόντες*, and that those who were going around (with the guide) might escape notice as much as possible (from the fact that the enemy were turning their attention in another direction).

§ 3. *ἦν . . . ἐκβαλεῖν*, which they must cross in order to go forth etc. The act denoted by *διαβάδοντας* necessarily preceded that denoted by *ἐκβαλεῖν*. — *ἁμαξιαίους*, large enough to fill a wagon; *καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους*, and larger and smaller (stones); i. e. larger and smaller than those described by *ἁμαξιαίους*.

§ 4. With *δύναντο* and *ἐπειῶντο* supply *πελάσαι*. — *οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο* is stronger than *οὐκ ἐπαύσ-*: they in nothing ceased, they did not for a moment cease. — *τεκμαίρεσθαι*, to be perceived, to be known; i. e. the fact that the enemy continued thus all night long rolling down stones.

§ 5. *ὥς . . . κατέχοντες*, supposing they had possession of the height; the height mentioned 4, 1, 25.

§ 6. of *δέ* refers here to the foregoing subject, which is common in Herod. but rare in the Attic writers. — *ἡ στενὴ αὐτῇ ὁδός*: *οἶκος* can stand between the article and noun only when some other attributive follows just after the article. — *αὐτόθεν*, from the very place, from the place where they now were.

§ 7. *ἐπέφανε*: cf. note 3, 2, 1. — *ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, against the enemy. Cf. *οἱ ἄνδρες* 3, 1, 28; 3, 4, 40. — *ὀλίγοι*: few; not a few; few perished; for etc.; the next clause assigning the reason why only a few perished.

§ 8. *ἀνίμω* (from *ἀνιμάω*) *ἄλλ-*, they drew one another up.

§ 9. *τοὺς ἡμίσεις*: *πολύς* in the three degrees of comparison, *ἡμίσις*, and adjectives in the superlative degree, when used as partitives are most frequently assimilated in gender to the genitive of the whole; Gr. § 264, Rem. 5. — *ἦπερ . . . ἔχοντες*, in the way in which the men with the guide (had gone). — *εὐδοκῶντι*, sc. *ὁδός* which is implied in the foregoing *ἦπερ*.

§ 10. *ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν*: instead of the corresponding conditional sentence (*εἰ* with a past tense of the indicative), an adversative sentence follows (*τὰ δὲ ὅτι* etc.); cf. note on *ἂν . . . ἔγωγε* 3, 2, 24. — *τὰ ὑποζύγια* is the subject of *ἐκβῆναι*, it was not possible that the beasts of burden should go out etc.

§ 11. *ὀρθοῖσι τοῖς λόχοις*, with their companies (of a hundred men) in columns, or in single file. Thus a hundred men would march one behind another, and between the files of men there would be vacant spaces; cf. 4, 3, 17; 4, 8, 10.



§ 12. *τίως μὲν*: for a while; strictly it means up to the time designated by the correlative member *ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ κ.τ.λ.* — *ἕκαστος*, in apposition with the subject of *ἐδύναντο*; we may render, *where they severally were able*; cf. 1, 7, 15. — *ἐγγὺς . . . προσίεντο*, but they did not suffer (the Greeks) to come near themselves; cf. *προσίσθαι* 3, 1, 30.

§ 13. *ἐννοήσας μή*. Cf. note on *ἐννοούμενοι* 3, 5, 3. — *καὶ πάλιν*, even again. — *ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἦν*, extended over a long space. — *ἄτε πορευόμενα*, because of (their) passing.

§ 14. *ὁ . . . ὁθελοντῶν*, the one above the guard that had been surprised at the fire in the night by the volunteers; cf. § 5.

§ 15. *ὕπνιπτον αὐτούς*, they (the Greeks) suspected that they (the barbarians) left etc. This clause presents a transition to an independent construction. Cf. *διεπράφησαν* 4, 7, 17. — *πολιορκῶντο*: cf. note 6, 8, 12. — *οὐ δ' ἦρα*, but they as it proved.

§ 16. *ὑπάγειν*: cf. note 3, 4, 48. — *δέσθαι τὰ ὕπλα*: cf. note on *ἔθετο τὰ ὕπλα* 1, 5, 14. — *εἶπε*, told (them), bade (them). Cf. note on *ἔλεγε* 1, 3, 8.

§ 17. *ὅσοι . . . ἀφίκοντο*: lit. as many as not leaping down etc. In an Eng. idiom, as many as did not leap down from the rock and arrive at etc.

§ 18. *ἐπὶ . . . μαστῶ*: *λόφος* means an eminence, a ridge, a hill of any shape (used as a generic word); *μαστῶς*, spoken primarily of the breast, means a round hill. Hence we may render this clause, *upon a hill over against the round hill*; *μαστῶ* has the article because it has been before mentioned §§ 6 and 14. — *τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆγει*: cf. note 4, 1, 19. For the meaning of *ἀπαιτεῖν*, cf. note 1, 2, 11.

§ 19. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, on condition that; followed by the infin.; cf. 4, 4, 6; 6, 6, 22. Gr. § 841, Rem. 5. — *ἐν ᾧ*: in what time, i. e. while. The corresponding demonstrative clause is to be understood with *πάντες κ.τ.λ.* *While the rest of the army etc.*, (during this time) *all* (the enemy) *from this region flocked together*. *οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου* = *οἱ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ὄντες ἐκ τούτου συνε-*, cf. note on *τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως* 1, 1, 5.

§ 20. *ἤρξαντο*, sc. *οἱ Ἕλληνες*. — *ἐνθα* is here a relat. adv. *where*; *τὰ ὕπλα ἔκειντο*, i. e. *ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ* § 16. — *κείσθαι* is in meaning a pass. of *δέσθαι* (Hert.); cf. 7, 1, 24. — *ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα*, with the shield, i. e. carrying off the shield with him.

§ 21. *Λουσιεύς*: from *Lusi* (Greek *Λουσοί*), a town in the northern part of Arcadia. In 7, 6, 40. *Λουσιᾶτης* is used instead of *Λουσιεύς*. — *πρὸ ἀμφοῖν*, before both, i. e. himself and Xen. — *προβεβλημένος*, sc. *τὴν ἀσπίδα*. Cf. 1, 2, 17.

§ 22. *αὐτοῦ ἐν*: in that place in etc.; cf. note on *αὐτοῦ παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ* 2, 2, 1. The preposition is understood with *ἐπιτηδεύεις*, in the midst of abundant provisions. — *ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς*: Sturz defines *λάκκος*, *cella*

*vinaria*, a wine cellar; and the Scholiast on Aristoph. Eccl. 154. (cited by Sturz) implies the same idea; *λάκκος* meaning, not as some have understood it a cistern which was filled with wine, but a cellar in which wine was stored. For an account of the Grecian mode of preserving wine, see Dic. Antiqq. art. Vinum, and also art. Amphora. *ὅν . . . εἶχον* then means *which they kept in plastered cellars*. Such cellars, with a circular mouth like a large well, increasing in size to the bottom (i. e. in shape a truncated cone), are still seen in great numbers in Piræus.

§ 23. *διεπράξαντο ὥστε*: negotiated so that. *πράττειν* and *ποιεῖν* are more commonly followed by the infin. without *ὥστε*. Cf. note 1, 6, 2. — *ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν*: lit. according to those things which were possible, i. e. according to their means. — *ὥσπερ νομίζεται*, sc. *ποιεῖν*, as it is customary (to do) etc.

§ 24. *ἐκώλυνον*, tried to hinder; cf. note on *ἐβιάζετο* 1, 3, 1. — *πρόσδος*, like *ὁδός*, includes two notions; it denotes either the way along by, or the act of going along by; here the latter. (*ὁδός* includes the two ideas *via* and *iter*).

§ 25. *πρὸς τὰ ὄρη*, towards the mountains, is explained by the clause *ἀνωτέρω . . . κωλύοντων*, attempting to become higher up etc.

§ 26. *ἐπιμέλοντο*. Notice the form; less frequent by far in Att. than the contract *ἐπιμελοῦμαι*. Yet cf. 5, 7, 10.

§ 27. *ἦν ὁπότε*, sometimes. Cf. note on *ἦν οὖς* 1, 5, 7. *ἔστιν* (or where the connection requires it *ἦν*) is prefixed to many words in this manner imparting a general and indefinite signification; cf. Gr. § 331, Rem. 5. — *ὥστε . . . ἀποφεύγειν*, so as to escape when fleeing from a point even near at hand. Notice the difference between *φεύγειν* and *ἀποφεύγειν*. Cf. note 1, 4, 8.

§ 28. *τόξα*. From what follows it appears that the Carduchians made use of cross-bows. On this supposition the clause, *they drew the bow-strings, when they would shoot, by stepping forward with the left foot on the lower part of the bow*, becomes perfectly clear. The fact that the Greeks did not use the cross-bow is no objection to the above supposition. — *ἀκοντίοις* is in apposition with *αὐτοῖς*: the Greeks used them (i. e. the arrows of the barbarians) as javelins. — *ἐναγκυλῶντες*: by fitting poises to them. The javelin had a leathern strap fastened to it at the centre of gravity, showing to the thrower at once the point where the javelin was to be seized, and also no doubt aiding in the act of throwing. (Rüstow u. Köchly griech. Kriegsw. cited by Hert.); cf. Dic. Antiqq. art. Hasta.

## CHAP. III.

The Greeks experience much difficulty in crossing the Centrites; owing to the depth and force of the current; the Arminians who were ready to oppose them on the opposite bank; and the Carduchians in the rear, who were ready to attack them while crossing; but by the accidental discovery of a ford, and by a series of skilful manoeuvres, they get over the river in safety.

§ 1. *Κεντρίτην*. This name (which does not occur elsewhere) denotes the eastern arm of the Tigris, which rises among the highest peaks of the snow-clad mountains of Kourdistan. In size it is fully equal to the longer western arm which rises near the Euphrates; and by some ancient writers it was called Tigris. The modern name is Buhtan Tschai. Xen. gives the name Tigris to still another tributary, the northernmost of the three, now called Bitlis; cf. 4, 4, 8. — *ἔσμενοι*: cf. note 2, 1, 16. — *ἀπείχε*: cf. note on η 1, 4, 6. — *τῶν Καρδοῦχων* limits *δρέων*.

§ 2. *μάλα ἡδέως*, *very gladly*. The reason for this is given in the two following participial clauses. — *πολλά*, *many times, often*; it qualifies *μνημονεύοντες*. — *ὅσα*, *sc. ἔπαθον*: *lit. they suffered so many evils as they did not even (suffer) all being put together from the king and Tissaphernes*. In an Eng. idiom, *they suffered more evils than all which they experienced etc.* — *ὥς*: cf. note 1, 1, 2.

§ 3. *τοῦ πέραν*, *somewhere on the other side*, implying that their exact position was not very distinctly seen.

§ 4. *Ὀρόντου*: the satrap of Armenia 3, 5, 17. — *Μαρδόνιοι*, Persian Mardhunijs, i. e. *the manly*, apparently an appellative which may have been given to different Persian tribes, as was the case with *Μάρδοι*, i. e. *Men*. — *Χαλδαῖοι* seems to be originally the same as *Καρδοῦχοι*, but to denote here that northern tribe who were also called *Χάλυβες* and who dwelt among the mountains near the S. E. coast of the Euxine. — *γέρρα*, rectangular shields of wicker work.

§ 5. *ὥσπερ χειροποίητος*, *just as if, i. e. apparently artificial*.

§ 6. *ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν*, *above their breasts*; *μαστός* is here used in the primary sense. — *οὕτε* corresponds to *τέ* after *ἐπὶ*. Cf. note on *μήτε* . . . *τέ*, 2, 2, 8. — *εἰ δὲ μή* instead of *εἰ δέ*, as often after negative statements; cf. 7, 1, 8. The idea is in full, *but if any one did hold his armor in the water etc.* — The clause *ἐπὶ . . . ὄπλα* is placed before *εἰ τις* to give it a more prominent position; cf. note 2, 4, 6. — *γυμνοί* (spoken with reference to the shield), *unprotected, exposed*; cf. *ψιλήν* 1, 8, 6. It is in the plural, together with *ἐγγίγνοντο*, because of the collective meaning of *τις*. — *οὐδ'* is introduced here with a slight anacoluthon, as though the

preceding member were independent and not introduced by *ἐκεῖ*. — *αὐτοῦ*, on the very spot, where they were. With *αὐτοῦ παρὰ*, cf. *αὐτοῦ ἐν* 4, 2, 22.

§ 7. *ἔνθα* (relat. adv.), where. — *πολλούς* is here a predicate, many in number.

§ 8. *ἔδοξεν*: cf. note 3, 1, 12, and on the asyndeton 3, 1, 11. — *ἐν πέδαις*: we might expect here simply *πέδαις*, with fetters, but *ἐν πέδαις* is more common. — *αὐταὶ δέ*, sc. *ἔδοξαν*. — *περιπνῆναι*, to fall off from around him. — *διαβαίνειν ὁρόσον*, to step as far as.

§ 9. *καλῶς ἔσεσθαι*, that it would be well. Adverbs instead of adjectives may be joined with *εἶναι* and *γίγνεσθαι* when these verbs do not simply unite (as a mere logical copula) the subject and predicate but when they contain within themselves a predication. — *καὶ ὥς τάχιστα*, and as soon as; cf. 3, 1, 9. — *ἤως ὁπέφαιεν*, morning began to dawn; cf. 3, 2, 1. — *ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου*, sc. *ιερέου*, at the first, or in full on the sacrifice of the first victim; cf. 6, 5, 2 and 8.

§ 10. *αὐτῷ* limits *προσελθεῖν*. One might expect the accusat. here instead of the dat.; yet see Gr. § 284, Rem. 2. — *καὶ ἀρισταῶντι*, both while breakfasting etc. — *ἐπετρέπαντα*, sc. *ἔξελε τινα*, it was permitted that any one having awaked him etc. Cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1. — *ἔχοι*, sc. *εἰπεῖν*.

§ 11. *καὶ τότε*, and on that occasion, or as we should express the idea, and so also on that occasion, introducing a particular illustration of what had been stated in general. Cf. 1, 8, 23; 7, 1, 38, and in a similar way *καὶ νῦν*, 1, 6, 28. — *ὥς* is often prefixed to prepositions, denoting intention or purpose, (frequently also a pretended purpose); cf. § 21 below. — *αὐτόν*: cf. note on *αὐτοῦ* 3, 4, 41. — *ὥσπερ*, just as if, apparently.

§ 12. *δόξαι* depends on *ἔλεγον* above. — *οὐδὲ . . . τοῦτο*, for it was not possible for the enemy's horse to approach at this point. Cf. note on *ἐνέπθερον* 3, 4, 20. — *ὥς ρευσόμενοι*, as if about to swim, expecting to swim. — *διαβαίνειν*, they proceeded to cross over; *διαβῆναι*, they crossed over; Gr. § 257. — *πρόσθεν . . . πρὶν . . . αἰδοῖα*, before the water reached their loins.

§ 13. *καὶ . . . ἐκέλευε*, and gave orders (to his attendants) to pour out (wine, i. e. to fill goblets with wine) for the youths. — *ὄνειρα*: the plural is here spoken of the single dream mentioned in § 8. This usage is common among the poets. The plural, says Krüg., directs attention to the several parts of the dream. — *καὶ . . . ἐπιτελέσαι* depends on *εὐχεσθαι*: that they would accomplish the remaining good things also.

§ 14. *σπονδάς*, libations. So 6, 1, 5.

§ 16. *στάδιοι*. The more common construction would be *σταδίων*, and it was a distance of about four stadia. Cf. note on *ὄργυα*, 1, 7, 14.

§ 17. *ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα*, they grounded their arms; cf. note 1, 5, 14. —

*ἀποδύς*, having taken off (the outer garment), so as to be less encumbered in the stream. Grote for reasons not very satisfactory, understands τὸν στέφανον after ἀποδύς. — παρήγγελλε, sc. στεφανωσαμένους καὶ ἀποδύοντας λαμβάνειν τὰ ὅπλα. This was in accordance with the Lacedaemonian custom. Cf. Plut. Lycurg. 22. Xen. de Repub. Lac. 13, 8. καὶ μηδὲνα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωντον εἶναι. — ὀρθίους: cf. note 4, 2, 11.

§ 18. *eis τὸν ποταμὸν*: cf. note on *eis ἀσπίδα* 2, 2, 9.

§ 19. *ἀνῆλθασον*: cf. note 1, 8, 18. — *ἀλλοιόζειν* is used chiefly of women, and chiefly also on joyful occasions. (Krüg.)

§ 20. *ἀνὰ κρᾶτος*: cf. 1, 8, 1. — *τὸν . . . eis*, the one opposite the pass which led (up) among etc.; cf. § 5 above.

§ 21. *ὡς πρὸς*, apparently for; cf. note § 11. — *ἔτεινον*, contendebant, they hastened.

§ 22. *Δύκιος*: cf. 3, 3, 20. — *Δισχύλης*: cf. 4, 8, 18. — *ἐβόων*: cf. note 1, 8, 12. — *μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι*, not to be left behind, i. e. behind the enemy.

§ 23. *κατὰ*, along; cf. 3, 4, 30; 4, 2, 8. *τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν*, the high banks extending to the river. The more common arrangement would be *τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν προσηκούσας ὄχθας*. Yet compare the position of *μαστῶ* 4, 2, 18. — *τοὺς ἀνω*: cf. § 3. — *σπίων*, see Gr. § 802, Rem. 3.

§ 26. *ἀκμὴν διέβαινε*, were just now crossing over. — *παρήγγειλε . . . φάλαγγος*, he gave orders to the Lochagi that each should form his lochus into enomoties, having led the enomoty towards the left so as to form a phalanx. We must understand that the lochi were in columns, and that, when divided into enomoties, those enomoties in the rear were marched forward to the same line with the foremost enomoties, filling up the spaces that had existed between the columns, thus forming an unbroken line, i. e. a phalanx. *Ὁν ἕκαστον* and *παραγὰγοντας*, cf. note on *λαβόντα*, 1, 2, 1. — *παρ' ἀσπίδας*, towards the left, the shields being carried on the left arm. — *ἐπὶ φάλαγγος*, in the form of a phalanx, so as to form a phalanx; cf. 4, 6, 6. — *πρὸς*, on the side towards; cf. 2, 2, 4. — *οὐραγός*; the article is to be supplied mentally from the foregoing. The first man in each enomoty (beginning at the right of the front line) was the enomotarch, and the last man in each enomoty was the uragus (οὐραγός). This place therefore was filled by a person of more competency than an ordinary soldier; see Dic. Antiqq. p. 484.

§ 27. *τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας . . . φαινόμενους*, the rear-guards left without the camp-followers, and (on this account) already appearing few (in number). With *τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλομένους*, compare *ἐψιλοῦτο . . . τῶν ἱππέων* 1, 10, 13. It does not seem natural to make *τοῦ ὄχλου* depend on *ὀπισθοφύλακας* as some explain.

§ 28. διαβαίνοντας: cf. note on ἐβιάζετο 1, 3, 1. — αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ, on the spot where they were upon etc. Cf. note on αὐτοῦ παρὰ 2, 2, 1. — αὐτοί, they themselves, i. e. Xen. and his men. — ἐναντίους . . . ἐμβαλεῖν, that they should enter (the river) at the opposite bank, on both sides of Xen. and his men (σφῶν). For the use of this reflexive (σφῶν), see Gr. § 802, Rem. 8. — διηγκυλωμένους, having passed the finger through the thongs of their javelins; cf. note 4, 2, 28. — ἐπιβεβλημένους, sc. τὰ τοξόεμματα ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς (cf. 5, 2, 12), having placed the arrows on the bow-strings. — πρόσω τοῦ ποταμοῦ, far in the river. See Gr. § 273, Rem. 4. (c.)

§ 29. σφερόδω: cf. note 3, 3, 16. — καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῆ, and a shield should ring, being hit by a missile from the enemy. — τὸ πολεμικόν, the signal for attack. — ἐπὶ ὁδῷ, to the right; cf. παρ' ἀσπίδας § 26.

§ 30. ὑποφύγιον and the following genitives depend on ἐπιμελησόμενοι, to attend to.

§ 31. ὥς . . . ἱκανῶς, for a mountainous region sufficiently etc.

§ 32. τὰναντία, in the opposite direction. So in Hell. 3, 4, 12, τὰναντία ἀποστρέφας ἐπορεύετο.

§ 33. αἰσθόμενοι, having become aware (that the Greeks instead of pursuing had suddenly turned and were crossing the river).

§ 34. οἱ ὑπαντήσαντες, those who had come to oppose (the enemy), i. e. the targeteers etc., mentioned §§ 27, 28. — πορρωτέρως τοῦ καιροῦ, farther than was proper. So in Hell. 7, 5, 13.

#### CHAP. IV.

They march several days without difficulty through Armenia, pass the sources of the Tigris (cf. note 4, 3, 1.) and reach the Teleboas. Here they make a treaty with the satrap Teribazus, who soon shows himself to be faithless.

§ 1. ἐπορεύθησαν . . . γηλόφους, they proceeded through Armenia over a plain wholly level and (after that) over smooth hills. πεδῖον and γηλόφους are accus. of space after ἐπορεύθησαν. Gr. § 279, 6. — πεδῖον ἕπαν, altogether a plain, i. e. a plain wholly level; cf. 1, 5, 1.

§ 2. κώμην: antecedent in the relative clause; cf. note 1, 2, 1. Render, But the village into which etc. — τύρραις: perhaps for the defence of the inhabitants, during the marauding expeditions of the Carduchians.

§ 3. Τίγρητος: cf. note 4, 3, 1. It is surprising that Xen. says nothing in this place of the passage over the Taurus range of mountains, which are somewhat lofty and which separate southern from middle Armenia. See Introduction § 7. — Τηλεβόας. This must be the stream now called Karasu which flows westward through the high plain of Musch and

empties into the Euphrates. The Greek-sounding name given it by Xen. is probably a corruption of the common Armenian word Telmot, which denotes a sluggish marshy stream.

§ 4. ἐκαλεῖτο: cf. note on § 1, 4, 6. — ὑπαρχος apparently = σατράπης, so that, while Orontes was the general satrap of Armenia (3, 5, 17), Teribazus would be satrap of the eastern part. — ἀνέβαλλεν, *assisted in mounting*.

§ 5. εἶπεν, *said*, i. e. gave orders to say; a common idiom. Cf. ἐλεγε 1, 3, 8; 2, 3, 17. — ἐπήκουσεν: cf. 2, 5, 38.

§ 6. ἐφ' ᾧ: cf. note 4, 2, 19. — αὐτός: nom. with infin. Gr. § 307, 4.

§ 8. χῶν πολλή: this may seem surprising, considering that they were in the 39th degree of latitude; but it must be recollected that the elevation is about 4000 feet above the level of the sea (Koch, *der Zug der Zehntausend*; cited by Hert.). — ἔωθεν, *in the morning*; strictly, *from the (beginning of) the morning*; cf. note 6, 3, 23.

§ 9. ἱερεῖα, *animals for slaughter*; cf. Cyrop. 1, 4, 17. On the asyndeton, cf. note 2, 4, 28. — τῶν ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινές, *some of those who were scattered abroad*.

§ 10. εἰδοκεῖ διαυριδίζειν, *it seemed likely to be fine weather, to clear up*; διαυριδίζειν, like θείν, and νείφειν, is used without any definite subject. The preposition (δια-), as in the Latin *disserenascere*, has reference to the breaking up and dispersion of the clouds.

§ 11. ἔπλετος is chiefly poetic. — ἀνίστασθαι depends on the noun ὕκνος. Cf. φόβος στρατεύειν, 2, 4, 3. — κατακειμένων, gen. abs. — ἀλεινών: cf. note on φοβερότατον 2, 5, 9. — ὅτι μὴ παραρρύνῃ, *to (every one from) whom it did not flow off*.

§ 12. γυμνός: cf. note 1, 10, 3. — τις καὶ ἄλλος, *a certain other one also*; not *one and another*. — ἀφελόμενος, sc. τὴν ἀξίαν which idea is readily supplied from the clause σχίζειν ξύλα. — ἐχρίοντο, *anointed themselves*; to make their stiffened joints limber. The Greeks were also accustomed to anoint themselves when very weary.

§ 13. χρίσμα is the generic word for ointment of any kind; μύρον is specific in meaning, *a fragrant ointment*. — πικρῶν, sc. ἀμυγδαλῶν which is suggested by the adjunct. ἀμυγδαλινον.

§ 14. ἐπὶ . . . ἐβίβουσαν, *were punished by the open air*, i. e. by being obliged to encamp in the open air; δίκην ἐβίβουσαν, has the force of a passive, hence the construction with ἐπὶ and the gen.

§ 15. Τεμενίτην: from Temenus, a section of the city of Syracuse. But as Xen. would have been more likely to say Συρακόσιον, it is not unlikely that we should read here Τημενίτην, from Τημένιον in Argolis. (Hert.) — οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι: cf. § 9. — ἀληθεύσαι, *to report truly*. —

τὰ μὴ ἔσται ὡς οὐκ ἔσται: the first ἔσται is hypothetical, and hence the negative μή. Gr. § 818.

§ 16. πορευθεὶς . . . ἔφη: a condensed expression, *And having gone (and returned), he said that he did not etc.* — σάγαρις, a two-edged battle-axe. (Hert.) — εἰσπερ . . . ἔχουσιν, such as the Amazons have, i. e. such as they were represented to have in the painting and statuary of the Greeks. Xen. presupposes that his readers were familiar with this representation.

§ 17. τὸ ποδαπὸς εἴη, the well-known question, the common question, of what country he was. — τὸ σπαρτέριον is accus. — ἐπὶ τίτι, for what purpose.

§ 18. Χάλυβας: cf. note 4, 3, 4; also 4, 7, 15. — Ταχύους: cf. note 4, 7, 1. See also 5, 5, 17. — μοναχῇ qualifies ᾧπερ considered as a relative pronoun, by which alone, where alone.

§ 20. τὸ σπαρτόπεδον, the encampment, i. e. of the enemy.

§ 21. οἱ ἀποκόπτοι . . . εἰναι, those who professed to be pandlers and those who professed to be cup-bearers.

## CHAP. V.

They suffer severely several days from the attacks of the enemy, from the want of food and from the severity of the cold; but they at length reach some villages abounding in provisions where they remain seven days.

§ 2. Εὐφράτην: the eastern arm of the Euphrates, now called Muradsu. The ancient Armenians called both this and the western arm *Jephra*t; sometimes also by the special name *Aradzani* (the *Arsanias* of the Grecian and Roman authors). The point of crossing according to Xen. was 30 parasangs = 6 days' march from the river Teleboas. Making all proper allowance for the difficulties of the march, the actual distance is much less than 6 days' march; so also the point at which they crossed the Euphrates was much farther from the source of the river than the words of Xen. imply. He probably judged from the size of the stream, which is always much smaller in the latter part of the autumn before the rains commence.

§ 3. ἀποκαίειν is here predicated of the severe cold, as also in 7, 4, 8. The Latin word *urere* is employed in the same way.

§ 4. εἰπε, directed, gave orders; cf. ἔλεγε 1, 3, 8.

§ 5. διεγίνετο καλοῖντες: cf. note on διετέλουν χρόμνοι 3, 4, 17. — ξύλα πολλά. At the present day, owing to the devastations of the Turks and Kourds, the Armenian table-land is extremely destitute of wood, so



that the dried dung of cattle is now used for fuel. — προσέσαν: προσ-  
ημι, *I suffer to come to*. Cf. διήμι, *I suffer to pass through*, 3, 2, 23; 4,  
1, 8. — εἰ μὴ . . . πυροῦς, *unless they would share with them (and give  
them) cheese etc.* With μεταδίδωμι, the part which is given is put in the  
accus.; but the whole from which a part is given is put in the gen. (as in  
the next sentence). — ἄλλο εἴ τι = εἴ τι ἄλλο, *whatever else*. Cf. note  
on ἄλλα ὅπου 1, 10, 3.

§ 6. ἔνθα δέ, *but where*. In the preceding clause, ἔνθα is demonstrative.  
— ἔσπε ἐπὶ, *even to*. Cf. ἔως ἐπὶ 4, 8, 8; ἕχρι εἰς 5, 5, 4; μέχρι ἐπὶ 5,  
1, 1; μέχρι εἰς 6, 4, 26. This idiom is much less common in the Attic  
than in the later writers.

§ 7. ἐβουλίμασαν: from βουλίμας, *they fainted from excessive hunger*.

§ 8. διεδίδου, *he distributed* (the food); not indeed to those who had  
fainted, but to the persons who should convey it, as expressed in the next  
clause. — δίδοντας, *giving, who gave*. The fut. δώσαντας, *who should  
give*, would be a more common construction. Yet cf. ἐπιδευκνύτες 1, 3,  
18; σκοπῶν 2, 4, 24; ἀρχομένους 2, 6, 12.

§ 9. ἐκ τῆς κώμης, *sc. οἰσας*, join with γυνάκας. — πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ,  
*at the fountain*, which belonged to the village, and was outside of the wall  
(ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος).

§ 10. εἴη, ἀπέχει. Cf. note 2, 2, 15.

§ 11. ἐδυνήθησαν, *were able* (to continue the march). Cf. § 12. —  
διατελέσαι: cf. 1, 5, 7.

§ 12. For the construction of τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς with διεφθαρμένοι, cf. note  
on τὰς κεφαλὰς 2, 6, 1; τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν (*their toes*) is connected  
in a similar manner with the intrans. ἀποσεσηπότες.

§ 13. τῆς χιόνης, objective gen. limiting ἐπικούρημα, *a protection against  
the snow*. — τῶν δὲ ποδῶν: the correlative clause τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς  
was apparently put in the dat. to avoid the construction of two genitives  
limiting the same noun (ἐπικούρημα). — ὑπολούτο, *took off his shoes*; the  
opposite of ὑποδεδεμένοι.

§ 14. ὄσοι, supply mentally as antecedent τούτων which limits πόδας.  
— περιεπήγνυτο: cf. note on ἦσαν 1, 2, 23. — καρβάναι, *brogues*  
made as Xen. says of raw skins. Those brogues were commonly worn by  
the natives of the country. According to Hesych. they consisted of one  
piece of skin. — βοῶν by meton. for βυσσῶν, cf. 4, 7, 22; 5, 4, 12.

§ 15. διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας, *on account of such unavoidable difficul-  
ties*, mentioned in § 12. — καὶ τετήκει, *and it had (actually) melted*.  
For a similar repetition, cf. § 4, καὶ σφαγίδεται. Observe the omission  
of the syllabic augment in τετήκει. Cf. ἀναβεβήκει 5, 2, 15. See Gr.  
§ 120, Rem. 2. — ἀγμίζουσα, *sending forth warm vapor*. This warm  
spring is supposed to have been discovered on the southern side of Mt.

Bingoldagh, by Koch during a botanical tour through Armenia in 1848. — *ἐκτραπόμενοι*: *ἐκ* denotes the idea, aside from the way towards the warm spring.

§ 16. *ἔχων ἐπισθοφύλακας*: as the article *τούς* is not expressed, it means, *with some of the rear-guards*; the rest had very likely passed on. — *πάνη τέχῃ καὶ μηχανῇ*, *with every art and device*, a more emphatic expression than *κατὰ πάντα τρόπον*. Cf. 7, 2, 8. — *καὶ τελευτῶν*, *and finally*. Gr. § 312, Rem. 3. — *δύνασθαι* depends on some word understood, e. g. *ἔφασαν*, which is suggested by *ἐκέλευον*.

§ 17. *φοβῆσαι*: observe the difference between the active and middle voices of this word. — *ἐπίοιεν*, sc. *οἱ πολέμοιοι*. — *ἐν* = *τούτων* &: *ἀμφί* very seldom occurs with the gen. in Attic prose. — *διαφερόμενοι*, *differing, quarreling*.

§ 18. *ἔτε θυγαίνοντες*, *inasmuch as they were well*. — *ἀνακραγόντες* (from *ἀνακράω*) . . . *μέγιστον*, *having screamed as loudly as they could*. This was all done to increase the alarm of the enemy.

§ 19. *ἐπ' αὐτούς*, *for them*, so as to convey them to the rest of the army. — *ἀνίστασαν*: cf. note on *ἐβιάζετο* 1, 8, 1.

§ 20. *ἔλον τὸ στράτευμα*. This however was not true, for Chirisophus and the van had passed on to a village; cf. § 9 et seq.

§ 21. *ἀναστήσαντας* agrees with the subject of *ἀναγκάζειν*, *he ordered (them, i. e. the youngest men) having made (the sick) stand up, to compel (them) to go forward*.

§ 22. *τῶν . . . σκεψομένους*, *(some) of those from the village to see*. — *οἱ δέ* = *οἱ τελευταῖοι*. — *τούς . . . παρέδωκαν*, *delivered up the sick to these*, i. e. the men whom Chirisophus had sent. — *αὐτοὶ δέ*, *but they themselves*, i. e. *οἱ τελευταῖοι*.

§ 23. *διαλαχόντες* (from *διαλαχάνω*), *having divided by lot*. — *τούς ἑαυτῶν*, *their own (men)*.

§ 24. *ἐπτακάδεκα*: from § 35, this number appears to be too small. — *ἐνάτην ἡμέραν*, *the ninth day*, or as we should say, *eight days*.

§ 25. The description of these subterranean dwellings shows, says Kiepert, how little effect two thousand years have had on the habits of these Armenians, since the same description would answer for the present day. — *τὸ μὲν στόμα . . . φρέατος*, *the mouth was like (that) of a well*. Kühner supplies *ἦν* with *τὸ στόμα*; Owen, following Bornemann and Matthiae, supplies *ἔχουσαι*. — *τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων*, *the young of these (animals)*.

§ 26. *οἶνος κριθῖνος*, *barley wine*, i. e. *beer*. — *αὐταὶ . . . ἰσοχειλεῖς*, *the barley-corns themselves even with (or on a level with) the brim*. Hence in drinking it was most convenient to make use of reeds, which of course must be without joints (*γόναρα*).

§ 27. ἄκατος, strong, sc. δ οἶνος. — συμμαθόντι, to one having become accustomed to it. See Gr. § 284. (10.) (a.)

§ 28. στερήσαντο . . . ἀπίαςιν: for a similar change of mood, cf. note on 3, 5, 13. — τὴν . . . ἀπίαςιν, and that they would go away after having filled his house with provisions as a reward (ἀντ-). — ἕστε, until (in this sense when followed by γίγνομαι; but followed by εἶμι it is rendered while).

§ 29. οἶνον ἔφρασαν ἔνθα: by anticipation for ἔφρασαν ἔνθα οἶνος. Cf. note 1, 1, 5. — κατορυγμένους, concealed in the ground. He probably means ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς 4, 22. — ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, in their sight.

§ 30. καὶ . . . ἀφίσταν, and from no place did they (the barbarians) let them (the Greeks) go etc.

§ 31. οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ, lit. and there was not a place where they did not etc. It is equivalent to and every where they placed etc. Cf. note on οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ 2, 4, 3.

§ 32. εἰλεν, he drew him, denoting a friendly compulsion. — βοφούντα ὥσπερ βοῦν, sucking as an ox; βοφούντα, as also ἐπικλύψαντα, agrees with the subject of πίνειν: ὥσπερ βοῦν, by a sort of attraction instead of ὥσπερ βοῦς, sc. βοφεῖ, as an ox sucks. After ὥσπερ and ἤ, this species of attraction is not uncommon. Gr. § 342, Rem. 3.

§ 33. κἀκείνους, them also, i. e. Chirisophus and his men. — σκηνοῦντας = εὐχουμένους § 30, banqueting, feasting. Cf. 5, 3, 9; 7, 3, 15. — ἐστεφανωμένους. The wearing of garlands at their symposia was a common custom among the Greeks. On this occasion, because they could find nothing better, and perhaps also because such garlands might afford them the more merriment, they had made them of dried forage. — τοῦ . . . χιλοῦ: the article is used because the forage had been mentioned above § 25. — παῖδας is connected by καὶ to ἐκείνους and depends on κατελέμβανον. — ὥσπερ ἑνεοῖς, as to persons who were deaf and dumb; because they did not understand Greek.

§ 34. οἱ ἵπποι. The region on the eastern side of the Bingol mountains (where the Greeks probably were at this time) is still celebrated for its excellent horses. — Χάλυβας: the name of the people by meton. for the name of the country; cf. 7, 2, 32. He probably means here his neighbors towards the west, inhabiting the country at the sources of the western arm of the Euphrates: since the Phasiani and Taochi were his neighbors on the north; cf. 4, 7, 15. — τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ᾗ εἶη, by anticipation for ἔφραζεν ᾗ ἡ ὁδὸς εἶη. Cf. οἶνον . . . ἦν § 29.

§ 35. καὶ . . . οἰκέτας, and at that time Xen. went conducting the governor of the village to his own domestics. ἑαυτοῦ refers not to the grammatical subject of the clause but to the object (αὐτόν). Cf. 2, 3, 25. See Gr. § 302, 2. (b.) — ὃν εἰλήφει, which he had taken, probably on that occasion

when he gave the rest to the horsemen; cf. 3, 3, 19. — *πυλαίτερον*, somewhat old. For the comparative in this sense, see Gr. § 323, Rem. 7. — *αὐτόν*, i. e. τὸν ἥλιον: *ἑρὸν τοῦ Ἥλιου*, sacred to the sun; see Gr. § 273, 2. — *πάλων*, partitive gen.

§ 36. *πολύ* is placed after the comparative which it qualifies and at the end of the sentence for the sake of emphasis.

## CHAP. VI.

From the villages they are conducted on their way by a guide, who being abused by Chirisophus deserts them on the third day. After wandering without a guide several days, they reach the river Phasia. In two days more they reach a pass which had been occupied by the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasiani. Having dislodged the enemy, they pass over into a plain and find some villages abounding in provisions.

1. *ἡμέρα ὁγδόη*. The article is often wanting with ordinal numbers, where the English idiom requires it. Cf. *δυστέρα ἡμέρα*, 6, 4, 9. — *τὸν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδοσι*, he (i. e. Xen.) *delivers up the guide* etc. The guide, as appears from the sequel, was the governor of the village where Xen. had encamped (cf. 4, 5, 28 et seq.). — *ἡγήσαντο*, sc. *ὁ κομάρχης*.

§ 2. *ἦν*: *impers. it was* etc. *ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ σταθμῇ* being used to denote time; cf. 2, 2, 11. — *ἐχάλεπνῃ*, *was angry*, instead of the more usual act. form *ἐχάλεπνε*. So also *Cyrop.* 3, 1, 38.

§ 3. *ἀποδρὰς ἔχερο*, *having escaped was missing, ran away and escaped*. Cf. note 2, 4, 24. For the difference between *ἀποδιδράσκω* and *ἀποφεύγω*, cf. note 1, 4, 8. — *διδόρον*, *an occasion of disagreement*. — *ἡ . . . ἀμέλεια* is in apposition with *τοῦτο*. — *πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο*, *treated (him as a person) most faithful*. Cf. the construction of *πολεμῖα* 2, 5, 11.

§ 4. *ἀνδ*: used here distributively, *at the rate of*; Gr. § 290, 1. (3.) — *παρά*, *along, on the banks of*. — *Φάσιν*. Not as in 5, 6, 36, the well known stream of this name which empties into the Black Sea, but the upper part of the Araxes, now called Pasinasu. The Greeks seem to have been led out of their course by this stream, having proceeded towards the N. E. instead of the N. W.

§ 5. *Χάλυβες, Ταόχοι, Φασιανοί*. Cf. note 4, 5, 34. The name Phariani is derived from the name of the river just mentioned.

§ 6. *κατὰ κέρας*, *in column*. The same expression is used in a very different connection and sense 1, 10, 9. — *ἐν φάλαγγος*, *in the form of a phalanx*; cf. 4, 3, 26.

§ 9. *εἰκός*, sc. *ἐστί*, takes the aor. infin. (*προσγενέσθαι*) without *ἔν* in the sense of the futuro, *it is likely that others will come* etc. Cf. note on *παύσασθαι* 1, 2, 2.

§ 10. *ῥῆ*, after *ἐγώ*, used like *ἀλλὰ* 1, 7, 6; cf. note. So in 5, 5, 13; 6, 6, 12; 7, 3, 30. — *ὥς* . . . *ἀποβάλλωμεν*, and how we shall lose (lit. *throw away*) as few men (lit. *bodies of men*) as possible.

§ 11. *πλέον* . . . *στάδια*, lit. more than extending over sixty stadia, i. e. more than sixty stadia in extent. Cf. *ἐπὶ πολὺ* 4, 2, 13. — *οὐδαμοῦ* . . . *ἀλλ' ἤ*, nowhere else than. Instead of *ἀλλ' ἤ*, we should expect *ἀλλ' ἤ*, yet see Gr. § 322, Rem. 10. — *κλέψαι τι*, to take possession secretly of some part etc.; cf. § 13. — *λαθόντας*, having escaped observation, only expresses more fully the idea contained in *κλέψαι*. — *καὶ ἐπιδῶσαι φθάσαντας*, and having anticipated (the enemy) to seize upon (it).

§ 12. *ἔρθιον* *λέγει* ἢ *δμαλέτ*, to go up a steep (place) than on level ground. — *μεθ' ἡμέραν*, in the day time, by day. — *τραχεῖα*, sc. *ὁδός*.

§ 13. *ὥς* . . . *παρέχειν*, so as not to occasion any notice (to be taken of us). — *ἄν*, which belongs to *χρῆσθαι*, is repeated, as in 3, 1, 6, and with *μένοιεν* in the next clause, it must be supplied mentally.

§ 14. *κλειπῆς*, the noun corresponding to the verb *κλέψαι* used above § 13. — *συμβάλλομαι*: the full expression *συμβάλλεσθαι λόγους* occurs *Cyrop.* 2, 2, 21. — *ἔσοι* . . . *ὁμοίων*, as many as belong to the peers. Cf. *Dic. Antiqu.* p. 613. — *εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων*, lit. immediately from children, i. e. even from childhood.

§ 15. *νόμιμον ἔρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν*, it is accordingly enacted in your laws; *ἔρα* is manifestly ironical; cf. 5, 6, 29. — *τοῦ ὕρου*, partitive gen. = *τοῦ ὕρου τι*.

§ 16. *δεινούς*, skilful, expert; *δεινοῦ* in the next clause means terrible. For the connection these different senses, cf. L. & S. — *κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια* is the regular expression for the embezzlement of the public monies. The penalty for this, aside from the loss of property, was under certain circumstances nothing less than death. — *ὑμῖν* is here commonly considered as the agent or doer with *ἀξιοῦνται*: see Gr. § 284, 3, (11.)

§ 17. *τούτων πυνθάνομαι*, I learn from these. — *νέμεται αἰεὶ*, is pastured with goats etc. *αἰεὶ* and *βοσκήν* are dat. of means; not of course dat. of agent. — *βατά*. Cf. note on *εὐπειθετον* 3, 4, 20.

§ 19. *καὶ* stands before a direct question when it contains an objection or reply to the foregoing. — *ἀλλὰ* is used because the preceding question is logically equivalent to a denial: *It is not necessary that you etc.*

§ 20. *Ἀριστάνυμος* *Μεθ.*: cf. 4, 1, 27. — *Οἰταῖος*. The Oetaeans, the same as the Aenianians (*Aliviānes*), dwelt in Phthia between Oeta and Othrys.

§ 21. *ἐκ*, after.

§ 22. *οἱ ταχθέντες*: those mentioned § 20. — *αὐτοῦ*, on the spot where they were. — *ἐγρηγόρεσαν*, 2d pluperf. of *εγείρω*. — *διὰ νυκτός*, through the night, all night long.

§ 24. τὸ πολύ: cf. note 1, 4, 18. — τοὺς πολλούς: *the main bodies* of both armies.

§ 25. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου, cf. note 1, 1, 5; the whole, instead of being in the gen., is here put in the same case with the parts (οἱ μὲν πελτασταί and Χειρίσφορ δέ). — βάδην is the antithesis of δρόμῳ, but does not contradict ταχύ: *walking quickly, at a quick pace*.

§ 26. τὸ ἔνω, *the part* (of their army) *above*; cf. § 24.

## CHAP. VII.

They pass through the country of the Taochi where they take by force a stronghold, and obtain an abundance of provisions, on which they subsist in their march through the country of the Chalybes. Having crossed the river Harpasus they march through the country of the Scithini and arrive at Gymnias, where they obtain a guide who conducts them to the summit of Mt. Theches. Here they have a view of the sea.

§ 1. ἐκ τούτων, sc. τῶν χωρῶν: the villages mentioned just above 4, 6, 27. — Ταῶχοι: another form of the word was Τάοι. (The ending -χοι is to be explained as in Καρδοῦχοι, see note 3, 5, 15.) The Taochi were known to the old Armenian writers under the name Talkh, to the Georgians (to whom they were allied by descent), under the name Tao; whence we are able to fix their locality, in the valley now called Taoskari, bordering on the river Akampsis (now called Dschoroch). — ἐν οἷς . . . ἀνακεκομισμένοι: a condensed form of expression (cf. ἔχομεν ἡρπακότες 1, 3, 14); in full it would be, *into which they had conveyed all their provisions and where they kept them*.

§ 2. αὐτόσε, *to it*. See Gr. § 235, 3, Rem. 3. — κύκλῳ: cf. note 1, 5, 4.

§ 3. εἰς καλόν, *opportunately*. So also εἰς κάλλιστον Plat. Euthyd. 275. b. — τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: cf. note 2, 2, 3.

§ 4. μία αὕτη: cf. note 4, 1, 20. — οὕτω διατίθεται, *is served thus*. σκέλη καὶ πλευράς: cf. note on κεφαλὰς 2, 6, 1.

§ 5. ἄλλο τι ἤ: cf. note 2, 5, 10. — τούτους: cf. note 3, 5, 9.

§ 6. διελθεῖν has for its subject ἡμᾶς understood. — ἀνθ' ὧν, properly *over against which, opposite which*; in this connection = *behind which*, a meaning of ἀντί chiefly poetic.

§ 7. πολλοί, used as predicate; Gr. § 245, 3, (b.) — αὐτό, *this very thing*. — ἐνθεν, like ὅθεν, 1, 3, 17. *to a place from which*. — μικρόν τι, i. e. τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμίπλεθρον § 6.

§ 8. τούτου, *this one*, i. e. Callimachus. — διωθοφυλάκων, used

adjectively, cf. 4, 1, 6. — καθ' ἓνα, *one by one*, in opposition to the idea *ἀπὸ τοῦ*.

§ 10. προέτρεχεν. Observe the asyndeton; cf. note 3, 1, 11. — δύο καὶ τρία βήματα: καὶ is very often used in designations of number, where we should use *or*; *two or three steps*. — ἀνεχάξετο: cf. note 4, 1, 16. — ἄμαξαι is used here simply as a designation of quantity, *wagon-loads*.

§ 11. τὸν Κ. ἂ ἐπολεῖ = ὁ Κ. ἐπολεῖ, cf. note 1, 1, 5. — Λουσιέα: cf. note 4, 2, 21. — αὐτός, *himself*, i. e. *alone*.

§ 12. τῆς ἵντος, *by the rim of his shield*; depends on ἐπιλαμβάνεται. Gr. § 273, Rem. 7. — ἀρετῆς, *a reputation for valor*, depends on ἀντεπιστοῦντο: Gr. § 273, 3. (b.)

§ 14. πολλοί is placed like ὀλίγοι 6, 3, 22. It qualifies πρόβατα as well as βόες and ὄνοι. Cf. note on πολλὰ 3, 1, 2.

§ 15. Χάλυβες, below 5, 5, 17, called Χαλδαῖοι. It is not possible to fix their locality with any degree of certainty, since no trace of their name has yet been discovered by modern travelers in this entire region. The position given on the map is conjectural and very doubtful. From this point till the Greeks reach the vicinity of the sea, their line of march is only conjectural. — ἐν διήλθον = τούτων οὐς διήλθον. — εἰς χεῖρας: cf. 4, 3, 31. For a very different meaning of this expression, cf. 1, 2, 26. — πτερύγων: *wings of the breast-plates*, i. e. the extreme parts at the top and bottom of the breast-plates, which parts were flexible so as not to obstruct the motion of the body. — πυκνὰ and ἐστραμμένα qualify σπάρα, *twisted ropes (set) close together*.

§ 16. ὅσον, *as large as*. — ἐν ἐπορεύοντο: see Gr. § 260, 2. (2.) (β.) — πηχῶν: the Attic form is πήχεων, which Krüg. substitutes for the form contained in all the manuscripts, and which Hert. is inclined to adopt. — μίαν λόγχην ἔχον, *having one point*. The spear used by the Greeks commonly had two points, the one at the hinder end (called σφυροτήρ, or στήραξ) being used to fasten the spear in the ground. Cf. Dic. Antiqq. p. 587, b.

§ 17. ἐν τούτοις ἀνακε-ῆσαν: ἐν with the dat. instead of εἰς with the accus. in connection with verbs of motion occurs particularly with the perf. and pluperf. so that the motion may be contemplated as finished and the consequent rest may be indicated by the preposition and its case. — διετράφησαν: a transition from the indirect narration of the preceding clause to direct narration.

§ 18. Ἀρπασος. This name has hitherto been applied with the greatest confidence to the northern tributary of the Araxes, now called in Turkish Arpa-su or Arpa-tschai, i. e. Barley-river. By the ancient Armenians however this stream was called by the totally different name Achn-rean; and it is only the resemblance of the modern name to the word

Harpasus which has given rise to the supposition of their identity. After all the light which we have been able to obtain respecting the route of the Greeks, it is clear that the Harpasus must be sought much farther westward. In all probability it flowed through that deep valley which lies between the table-land of the Chalybians and the sea; which is now called by the Armenians and Georgians Deschoroch (Turkish Tschornuk-su), but was anciently called Akampais, and near the coast Apsaros, of which Harpasus seems to be only a corruption. — *Σκυθιοί*. Kiepert conjectures that these may be the same as the Hesperitae (*Ἑσπερίται*) who dwelt in the valley of Deschoroch.

§ 19. *ἐαυτῶν* refers to *ὁ . . . ἔρχων* including the idea of his subjects. It depends on *πολεμίας χώρας* considered as one idea, and may be rendered *through their own enemies' country*. Cf. *ἐαυτῶν* 3, 4, 41.

§ 20. *πέντε ἡμερῶν*: cf. note on *δέκα ἡμερῶν* 1, 7, 18. — *τεθνάναι* is here as often used in the sense of an aorist. — *ἐαυτοῖς*: cf. *ἐαυτῶν* § 19. — *ἐνέβαλεν* is here intrans. It is singular that the action should be predicated of the guide rather than of the army or the commander. — *αἰθεῖν* is chiefly poetic in its use. — *εὐνοίας*: repeat *ἐνεκα* from the last clause.

§ 21. *τὸ ὕψος*: the article is used because the mountain has been already alluded to in the word *χωρίον* § 20. — *ἦν*: cf. note 1, 4, 6.

§ 22. *αὐτῶν* limits *τινάς*. — *βοῶν* is added to *ώμοβόεα*, because in actual use, the last part of the compound adjective had nearly lost its force: — *wicker shields covered with the untanned hides of shaggy oxen*. — *ἀμφὶ τὰ*: cf. note on *ἀμφὶ τοὺς* 1, 2, 9.

§ 23. *πλείων καὶ ἐγγύτερον*: *καὶ* not unfrequently connects an adjective with an adverb. (Hert.) — *ἀεὶ*, *continually*. — *δοσφ*: the regular correlative *τοσοῦτῃ* is not expressed in the preceding clause, but instead of it *πολλῷ*.

§ 24. *Λόκιον*: cf. 3, 3, 20. — *παρεγγυώντων*, *beckoning, giving a signal*, to those who were behind to hasten, that they might the sooner have a view of the sea.

§ 25. *περιέβαλλον*, *embraced*. — *στρατηγοὺς*, cf. note 3, 5, 7. — *δοῦν* is in the gen. abs. with *παρεγγυήσαντος*, *when some one (I know not who) had suggested it*.

§ 26. *κατέτεμνε*: this was done that the shields might not be afterwards used; cf. 4, 6, 26. — *διεκελεύετο*, sc. *κατατέμνειν*.

§ 27. *δαρεικοὺς*: cf. note 1, 1, 9. — *τοὺς δακτυλίους*, *the rings*, i. e. those which they wore. "The free Greek, if not of the very poorest class, wore a ring not only as an ornament, but as a signet to attest his signature or for making secure his property." Becker, *Charicles*, p. 198, note 6.



## CHAP. VIII.

Passing through the country of the Macrones and of the Colchians, they reach Trapezus, where they remain a month, meanwhile making predatory excursions into the country of the Colchians and offering sacrifices to the gods.

§ 1. *ἔρις*: cf. note on *ἦν* 1, 4, 6. — *τὴν*, sc. *χώραν*. — *Μάκρωνες*: a people living on the northern slope of that part of the Pontic range of mountains which is still called Makur.

§ 2. *οἶεν* is used like *ὥς* to qualify the superlative degree. The full expression would be *τοιούτων οἶόν ἐστι*. — *ὁ ὀρίζων*, sc. *ποταμός*. — *δι' οὗ*, sc. *τοῦ ὀρίζοντος*. — *ἔκοπτον*, they proceeded to cut down. They did this not simply to make the way clear, but to use the trees which they had felled as temporary bridges.

§ 3. *λίθους* . . . *ἐρρίπτουν*. This was done that they might approach nearer to the Greeks, so as to reach them with their missiles. — *οὗ* with an accent may stand before a vowel in antithesis (even when as here the sentence is not separated from the following); cf. 6, 5, 4.

§ 4. *ταύτην* is subject accus. before *εἶναι*; *ἐμὴν πατρίδα* is predicate.

§ 5. *ἐρωτήσαντος*, gen. abs. sc. *αὐτοῦ*. Cf. *λόγων* 1, 4, 12. — *ἀντιτετάχται* = *ἀντιτεταγμένοι εἰσιν*. See Gr. § 116, 15.

§ 6. *Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς*, because you also etc. The idea is, we are your enemies because you also are hostile to us, as appears from your coming against our country. — *λέγειν*. On the asyndeton, cf. 3, 4, 42. — *ὅτι* before the *oratio recta*; cf. note 1, 6, 7. — *ποήσαντες*, sc. *ἐρχόμεθα*, suggested by *ἔρχεσθε*.

§ 7. *εἰ δοίεν ἄν*, whether they would give; without *ἄν* it would mean, whether they had given. — *πιστά*, cf. 1, 6, 7.

§ 8. *ὁδὸν ὁδοποιοῦν* is a pleonasm similar to the one in 4, 7, 22. — *διαβιβάσαντες*. The difference between *βιβάζω* and *βαίνω* will not be forgotten. — *κατέστησαν*, 1st aor. and trans. Gr. § 173, Rem. 2.

§ 9. *μέγα* without *μέν*. Cf. *τὸ εὖρος* 3, 4, 7.

§ 10. *παύσαντας*, sc. *ἡμᾶς*. — *λόχους ὀρθούς*. Cf. note 4, 2, 11. — *τῇ μὲν* . . . *τῇ δέ*, partly . . . partly. Cf. note on *πῇ μὲν* . . . *πῇ δέ*, 3, 1, 12.

§ 11. *ἐπὶ πολλούς*, many in depth; *ἐπ' ὀλίγων*, few deep. One would expect the gen. (which is far more common for this idea) in both clauses. The accus. has reference to the antecedent motion in forming the line; the gen., to the consequent rest. — *περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν*, will outflank us. — *ἀθρόων* . . . *πολλῶν*, many, both weapons and men, in a dense mass.

§ 12. διαλείποντας agrees with λόχους, *being separate, standing apart*. Cf. διαλείπουσαι 4, 7, 6. — τοῖς λόχοις is connected with κατασχεῖν, *that having formed our columns into companies standing apart we should occupy with our columns so much space as that etc.* — ὅσον. Cf. 4, 1, 5. — οἱ ἑσχατοὶ λόχοι, in apposition with the subject of ἐσόμεθα, i. e. ἡμεῖς understood; the part being in apposition with the whole.

§ 13. τὸ διαλείπον, *the intervening space, the interval*. — ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν: cf. 4, 3, 28. — ὀρθίον belongs as predicate with προσιδόντα, *advancing in column*. — οὐδὲς μηκέτι: the double negative οὐ μή is used regularly with the subjunct. aor. or fut. indic. Gr. § 318, 7.

§ 14. τὸ εἶναι: "Many verbs and verbal expressions which are commonly constructed with an infin. merely, sometimes take also the infin. with the article τὸ, even when they would have their object if a substantive in the gen." Gr. § 308, Rem. 1. — For the negative μή, cf. note 1, 3, 2. — ὡμοῖς καταφαγεῖν, is a proverb drawn probably from Hom. Il. 4, 35, and denoting complete destruction.

§ 15. ἐν ταῖς χώραις, *in their places*. — τοῦ δεξιῦ, sc. ἔξω.

§ 17. ἀντιπαράθεοντες, *running along opposite to* (the Greeks).

§ 18. διαχέοντες: cf. note 4, 1, 16. It evidently means *separating, being drawn asunder*, not as L. & S. define *drawing back, recoiling*. — οἱ . . . πελτασταί, *the targeteers who were along by the Arcadian division*; the same as τοὺς κατὰ μέσον § 15.

§ 19. ἤρξαντο, sc. οἱ πελτασταί.

§ 20. τὰ ἄλλα accus. synec. — τὰ δὲ σμήνη κ.τ.λ. It has been commonly supposed that the honey of which the Greeks ate was made poisonous by being gathered from the flowers of the rhododendron. Koch (d. Zug d. Zehntausend s. 110. cited by Hert.) imagines that the injurious properties of the honey in this instance were owing to its not being suitably put up. — κάτω . . . αὐτοῖς, *it passed through them*. — πολὺ, sc. ἐξηδοκότες. — ἀποθνήσκουσιν, dat. plur. particip. depends on ἐφίκεσαν understood.

§ 21. τροπῆς, *a defeat*, gen. abs. — ἀνεφρόνουν, *they gradually recovered their reason*.

§ 22. Τραπεζοῦς: familiarly known at the present day under the name Trebizond (called by the Turks Tarabusun), an important commercial city. — οἰκουμένην, cf. notes 1, 4, 1. — ἐν τῷ . . . Πόντῳ, *on the Euxine* (Gr. § 289, 1); not, says Hert., that ἐν does not as usual signify *in, within*, but the name of the place with which it stands embraces much more, i. e. all which is adjacent.

§ 23. ὁρμώμενοι: cf. notes 1, 1, 9.

§ 24. συνδιεπράττοντο . . . ὑπέρ, *and they joined in a negotiation in behalf of etc.*, i. e. the inhabitants of Trapezus assisted the neighboring

Colchians in ratifying a treaty with the Greeks. — ἡλθεν. Observe that it is predicated of something else than persons; cf. § 25.

§ 25. ἦν εὖζατο: cf. 3, 2, 9. — ἀποθῆσαι: on the meaning of ἀπο-, cf. note 3, 2, 12. — ἡγεμόνεια, *thank-offerings for safe conduct*, seems to belong solely to 'Ηρακλεῖ since he had the appellative ἡγεμὸν (6, 2, 15; 6, 5, 24 and 25). Hence Krüg. conjectures that σωτήρια has been accidentally omitted after σωτήρι. Cf. 3, 2, 9; 5, 1, 1. — ἐπιμεληθῆναι and προσεταρῆσαι depend on εἴλατο. — ἔκταν κατακτανῶν, *having unintentionally slain*. The penalty for this offence in Attica was exile for one year, but according to the Spartan law, the penalty seems to have been heavier.

§ 26. τὰ δέματα. These were to be used as prizes at the games. — ὅπου: cf. note on εἶ 2, 1, 6. — ἐν . . . οὖτως, *in a place so hard and rough*; οὖτως placed after the word which it qualifies, as in 2, 4, 7.

§ 27. στάδιον, accus. of cognate signification, Gr. § 278, 2. According to the Eng. idiom, *in the stadium*. For a description of the stadium and also for the length of the δόλιχος (commonly given at about 20 stadia), cf. Dic. Antiqq. art. Stadium. — ἕτεροι, sc. ἡγωνίζαντο. — πάλην κ.τ.λ. Cf. Dic. Antiqq. art. Lucta. — κατέβησαν, *entered the contest*, lit. *went down*, because the arena was lower than the position occupied by the spectators. — ἔτε, *because of*, is here followed by the gen. abs.

§ 28. τὸν βωμόν. The point in the stadium from which the runners set out and to which they must return. — ἔγειν. Krüg. understands τὸν ἱερεῖα as the object of this word.

## BOOK FIFTH.

From Trapezus to Cotyora.

### CHAP. I.

While the Greeks are at Trapezus, Chirisophus is sent to obtain ships of the Spartan admiral Anaxibius that they may proceed by sea. While they are awaiting his return, Xenophon takes measures to obtain other ships, and also to improve the roads in case they shall be compelled to proceed by land. Dexippus is appointed to seize on coasting vessels, but deserts the army; and Polycrates is appointed to succeed him.

§ 1. μέχρι ἐπὶ. Cf. note on ἔστε ἐπὶ 4, 5, 6. — θάλατταν . . . Πόντον, lit. *a sea, the one in the Euxine*, i. e. *a sea which was a part of the Euxine*. — ἀπέδυσαν. Cf. note 3, 2, 12. — εὖζατο: 3, 2, 9.

§ 2. *Θούριος*: from Thurii, a city in Magna Graecia on the Tarentine Gulf. — *τοίνυν*, *therefore*, is often used at the beginning of a speech, having reference to some thought not expressed, here perhaps it may be rendered, *to speak out, to express my opinion*. (Hert.) — *ἁπείρηκα*, used here in the secondary and intransitive sense, *I am worn out*. — *καί . . . καί*. The repetition of the conjunction gives greater prominence to each particip. — *φυλακὰς φυλάττων*. Cf. note 2, 6, 10. — *ἐκταθείς . . . καθεύδων*, *stretched out, sleeping*. These participles form an antithesis in the idea to those which follow *ἁπείρηκα*. — *ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς*. Hom. *Odys.* 13, 78 et seq.

§ 4. *ἐλθεῖν* and *ἔξω*. Cf. note on *ἐλθόντες* 2, 1, 1. — *τρίηρεις*, *war-ships*; *πλοῖα*, *transports*. — *πλεῖν αὐτόν*, *that he should sail*.

§ 5. *ἐπὶ πλοῖα*. Cf. note on *ἐπὶ* 2, 3, 8. — *ποιεῖν* depends on *καιρός*, *a suitable time to do*. — *ἐν τῇ μονῇ*, *during our stay*.

§ 6. *ὅτου ἂν ὀνησόμεθα εὐτορία*, *a supply of the means with which we shall purchase*. Cf. note on *ὅτου* 3, 1, 20.

§ 7. *ἀλλά*, cf. note 4, 6, 19. — *προνομαί*, *foraging parties* in distinction from single persons engaged in foraging. — *ἄλλως*, *rashly, carelessly, temere*. — *ἡμᾶς*, i. e. *τοὺς στρατηγούς*.

§ 8. *ἐπὶ λαίαν γάρ*: cf. note on *ὁρᾶτε γάρ* 3, 2, 29. — *ὅποι*, sc. *μέλ-λαι ἐξέλαι*. — *ἐγχειρῇ ποι*, *attempt any thing in any direction*. In several instances *ἐγχειρεῖν* takes as here the construction of a verb of motion. Plat. *Menex.* 241, d. Thucyd. 8, 27. — *ἐφ' οὓς*, understand *τούτων*, the antecedent of *οὓς*, *of those against whom*. Cf. note 3, 1, 21.

§ 9. *κατὰ* is here distributive; *κατὰ μέρος*, *part by part*, i. e. *in turn*, or *by turns*. — *ἐὰν . . . σκοπῶμεν, δύναντ' ἔν*. The protasis *ἐὰν* with the subjunctive is followed by the indic. pres. or future when the consequence is positive, but by the optat. with *ἔν*, when it is probable.

§ 10. *ὅν = τούτων ἔ*: *there would be no need of those things which etc.* — *αὐτόθεν*, *from the place itself, from this very region*. — *ἦν . . . ἔλθῃ*, *for if he come back*, i. e. *with transports*. — *ὑπαρχόντων*, sc. *πλοίων*.

§ 11. *παραπλέοντα*, *sailing by, sailing along the coast*. — *αἰτησάμενοι*, *having borrowed*. — *πλοῖα* is sometimes used as a generic word, and thus may include the specific idea of triremes or war-ships (cf. 1, 3, 17); so also *μακρὰ πλοῖα = τρίηρεις*. — *κατάγειν*, *to bring into port*, Lat. *deducere*. — *τὰ πηδάλια παραλνύμενοι*, *taking off the rudders*, so that the sailors might not escape if they should desire. — *κομιδῆς*, *means of transportation*.

§ 12. *ἐννοήσατε . . . εἰ*, *and consider, said he, whether it is not etc.* Cf. note 3, 2, 22. — *ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι*, *to agree upon passage-money*.

§ 13. *ἔρα*: cf. note 2, 4, 6. — *ὀδοὺς ὀδοποιεῖν*: cf. note 4, 8, 8.

§ 14. ἐπεφύκει εὐδέν, lit. *he put nothing to vote*, i. e. nothing pertaining to the going by land.

§ 15. § relates to πωτηκόντερον, *over which they appointed etc.* — περίουαν. Cf. Dic. Antiqq. art. Perioeci. — πολυπραγμονῶν τι, *while engaged in some intrigue*.

§ 16. λαμβάνει is iterative. — ἀνάγμα, *cargoes*. — ἐξαιρούμενοι. This is the common word used to denote the unloading of a vessel. — εἰς παραγωγὴν, *for privateering along the coast*.

## CHAP. II.

Being in want of provisions, the Greeks make an excursion into the country of the Drilae. They storm and take the principal fort belonging to these people.

§ 1. εἰς Δρίλας, *into (the country of) the Drilae*, a mountainous region farther from the coast than the country of the Colchians. — ἔτε: cf. note 4, 2, 13. — πολλοί belongs as an adjective to οἱ Κόλχοι, *the Colchians many in number were collected together*.

§ 2. ἐπέθεν, cf. ἴθεν 1, 3, 17. — αὐτοῖς. The inhabitants of the region implied in the word ἐπέθεν.

§ 3. ἐμπιπρόντες (from ἐμπίπτειν), sc. οἱ Δρίλαι.

§ 4. δορυφόροι, persons who carried long sticks or poles (δορέτια 6, 4, 23.) for the purpose of driving away and securing the booty. — εἰς δισχέλιον. The nominative would be the usual construction here; yet cf. 2, 5, 35; 6, 4, 23.

§ 5. οἱ δέ, *and they*, i. e. the enemy. Cf. note 3, 4, 4.

§ 6. ἐφ' ἑνός, *in single file*; ἐπὶ with the gen. is used to denote not only the depth (cf. note 1, 2, 15), but also as here the width.

§ 7. ὁ . . . λέγει, *and the person who went says* (to Xen.). — ὅτι. Cf. note 1, 6, 7.

§ 8. δέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα, *to halt*; cf. note 1, 5, 14. — ὥς . . . χωρεῖν, *as if* (i. e. *in the hope that*) *the place might be taken*.

§ 9. οὐκ εἶναι, *not to be possible*. — ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν is middle: *had expressed the opinion*.

§ 11. ποιεῖναι, *to form, to draw up*; as in 4, 8, 10 and 14. In this sense the mid. is more common. Cf. 4, 8, 12; 5, 4, 22; 6, 5, 5 and 25. — ὥς . . . ἀγωνιεῖσθαι, *as he supposed he might contend most bravely*. On the construction, cf. note on ἐὰν μὴ διδῶ 1, 3, 14. — οἱ λοχαγοί. Cf. 4, 1, 27; 4, 7, 9, et seq.

§ 12. διηγκυλωμένους: cf. note 4, 3, 28. — σημῆναι: cf. note 3, 4, 4. — ὥς δεῖσθαι, *as if it would be necessary, in the expectation that it would be*

necessary. The particip. of an impers. verb in the accus. abs. Gr. § 312, 5. — ἐπιβεβλήσθαι: cf. note on ἐπιβεβλημένους 4, 3, 28. — τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι, *to see to these things*, i. e. all the orders specified after παρήγγελλε.

§ 13. δῆ, *accordingly*; i. e. as a consequence of the crescent-form in which the forces were drawn up.

§ 14. ἐπεὶ δέ is repeated in consequence of the intervening parenthetical clauses καὶ ἀλλήλους . . . τάξιν ἦν. — ἕμα τε introduces the principal clause. — σφενδόναί: cf. note 3, 3, 16.

§ 15. Πελληνεὺς: from Pellene, whether from the city of this name in Achaia or in Laconia is uncertain. — καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβέβηκει, *and another had gone up* (alone, οὐκ ἐλκόμενος).

§ 17. καὶ ἔχοντες: cf. note on καὶ ἔχων 3, 3, 2. — τάχα δέ τις. The indefinite force of τις may be expressed thus, *and now and then one perhaps* (fled) etc.

§ 18. τὸν βουλόμενον: cf. note 1, 3, 9. — νικῶσι . . . εἰσωθόμενοι, *those* (Greeks) *rushing within surpass those* (Greeks) *who were coming out*, i. e. they compel them to return.

§ 19. ἐξεκομίσαντο, *sc. αὐτά*.

§ 20. ἦν is without a definite subject, σωτηρία ἄσφ- being predicate: *for thus there was a secure way of escape* (to them). — οὕτως (instead of οὕτω) may stand before consonants when it is particularly emphatic (as here, being used antithetically with ἄλλως).

§ 21. διήρουν, *they took away*. This was done to make more room and thus facilitate their retreat. — καταλιπόντες, cf. note 1, 8, 27. It takes for its object the antecedent of οἱς, i. e. τοὺτους understood.

§ 24. κράνη Παφλαγονικά: according to 5, 4, 18, σκῆτινα, according to Herod. 7, 72, πεπλεγμένα; hence it appears that they were woven or braided of leathern straps. — ἐν δεξιᾷ θρου δὴ ἐνέψαντες, *on the right of some one or other who had set fire to it*. On the use of θρου, cf. note 4, 7, 25.

§ 25. τοῦτο . . . τύχης, *this thing* (presented) *by good fortune*.

§ 26. ἐλόπουν, *occasioned solicitude*. Cf. Cyrop. 3, 3, 50. — ἔμψι . . . ἔχοιεν, *might be busy about these things*, i. e. in extinguishing the fires.

§ 29. καὶ before ἀνὴρ introduces a fuller statement of what was just before only intimated.

§ 30. διαρῶντες = διαφαινόμενα δρῶντες, *seeing these things appearing at intervals*. — ὥς . . . οὔσαν, *as if there were an ambuscade*; accus. abs. Gr. § 312, 6. — ἱκανόν, *a sufficient distance*. — καὶ ὅς: cf. note 1, 8, 16.

§ 31. οἱ ἄλλοι Κρήτες, *the others, namely the Cretans*. Cf. note on οὐδὲ ἄλλο 1, 5, 5. — ἀλίσκεσθαι, *that they were overtaken*. — ἰβόα; cf. note 1, 8, 12.

§ 32. ἐπὶ πρὸς, *backwards*, i. e. with their faces towards the enemy.

## CHAP. III.

Compelled by the want of provisions to leave Trapezus, the army resumes its march by land, after having placed the invalids and the camp-followers on board the transports which they could command. Having reached Cerasus, they divide the money arising from the sale of the captives, and distribute the tenth part among the generals to be consecrated to Apollo and Artemis. Xenophon describes in a charming manner the sanctuary which he afterwards consecrated to Artemis in the vicinity of his residence at Scillus.

§ 1. *μέν* corresponds to *δέ* before *ἄλλοι*. — *ἐπορεύοντο*, sc. *κατὰ γῆν*.

§ 2. *Κερασούς*. A place in the lower part of a valley, which is now called Kerasun-Dere; distinct from the city Kerasonda or Kiresûn situated farther westward, not mentioned by Xen. but known in ancient times, first under the name Kerasus, afterwards by the name Pharnacia. Both places receive their name from the abundance of cherries (called in Armenian *Keras*; in modern Persian and Turkish *Kires*) which grow wild in this region, and which were taken from this region to Italy by Lucullus. — *τριταῖοι*, on the third day. Cf. note on *σκοταῖοι* 2, 2, 17.

§ 3. *ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις*, under arms. This expression, says Krüger, is added because without it, the implication would be that they were mustered and numbered without their arms, as often happened. — *ἀμφὶ . . . μυρίους*, in round numbers about 10,000. Cf. note 1, 2, 9. — *εἰ τις*, now and then one, sc. *ἀπέλετο*.

§ 4. *τὸ . . . γινόμενον*, the money raised from (the sale of) etc. — *τὴν δεκάτην*, sc. *μερίδα*. The most common ellipses of the fem. gender are *ἡμέρα*, *γῆ* or *χώρα*, *ὁδός*, *μοῖρα*, *χεῖρ*, and *μέρις*. — *τὸ . . . θεοῖς*, each one to preserve for the gods his part. — *Ἀσιναῖος*: from Asine, a city in Laconia. — *ἔλαβε*, sc. *τὸ μέρος*.

§ 5. With *τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλ.*, understand *μέρος*, as also § 6 with *τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμ.*: *having made (of) the part belonging to Apollo a votive offering, he consecrates it* etc. — *τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρόν*. Athens like the other Grecian cities had its own treasure-chamber at Delphi.

§ 6. *ὅτε ἀπῆει* κ.τ.λ. See Introduction § 1. — *τὴν . . . ὁδόν*, accus. of cognate meaning with *ἀπῆει*. — *Μεγάβυζος* was not the individual, but the official name of the priests of Artemis at Ephesus. — *ἀναθεῖναι*, sc. *ἐπέστειλεν*. — *ποιησάμενον*: cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1.

§ 7. *ἔφραγεν*: cf. note on *τοὺς φεύγοντας* 1, 1, 7. For an explanation of the allusion, see Introduction § 1. — *ἐν Σικιλοῦντι*: see Introduction § 1. — *θεοῦ . . . θεός*, where the god in an oracle directed; *ὁ θεός* means Apollo, when an oracle is spoken of.

§ 8. διὰ μέσου τοῦ: cf. 1, 2, 7. — ἐν . . . ἐν. The same preposition repeated. Cf. εἰς . . . εἰς 4, 4, 14. — θῆραι, sc. εἰσίν.

§ 9. σκηνοῦσιν: cf. note on σκηνοῦντας 4, 5, 88. — τῶν . . . λάχος, a share of the animals which were sacrificed from the sacred herd. λάχος, chiefly poetic, occurs also 6, 3, 2.

§ 10. Φολόης. A range of mountains between Elis and Arcadia.

§ 11. ἔστι δὲ κ.τ.λ., and the place is where they go etc., i. e. in our idiom, and the place is on the road from etc. — ἐνι = ἐνεστί. — ἱκανὰ . . . τρέφειν, sufficient to support etc. — εὐωχεῖσθαι is here predicated of animals (τὰ ὑποζύγια).

§ 12. ὄσα; a brief expression for τούτων or πάντων ὄσα, the supplied gen. depending on δένδρων: trees (of all fruits) which when ripe are eaten raw. — χρυσῆ: perhaps means only gilded instead of golden, since according to Pliny the image of Diana at Ephesus was of ebony, according to Vitruvius of cedar. It may be however that the image in the older temple (which was burned by Herostratus) was destroyed with the temple, and that this older image was actually made of gold.

§ 13. καταθέειν and ἐπισκευάζειν instead of the imperat., an idiom very common in the older Ionic, but found in Xen. only in this passage. — τῇ θεῇ μελήσει is intended as a warning, it will concern the goddess, or the goddess will see to it.

## CHAP. IV.

The march through the country of the Mossynoeci; a picture of their savage and disgusting manners.

§ 1. οἶπερ καὶ πρόσθεν: cf. 5, 3, 1.

§ 2. εἰς αὐτοὺς, like εἰς Δρίλας 5, 2, 1. — ὥς διὰ φίλας: cf. note 4, 1, 8. — διήσοιεν: cf. 3, 2, 23 and 4, 1, 8.

§ 3. οἱ . . . ἐπέκεινα, those who dwell beyond; ἐκ τοῦ, cf. πρὸς τοῦ, 2, 2, 4. — τοὺς ἔρχοντας, the chief men (of the Mossynoecians who dwelt farther along (οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα) than those who refused to let the Greeks pass through their country).

§ 5. διασωθῆναι . . . Ἑλλάδα, to pass through in safety to Greece etc. Cf. ἐσώγοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, Cyrop. 5, 4, 16. Instead of πρὸς, εἰς would be more common. (Hert.)

§ 6. πῶποτε stands often in affirmative sentences, especially in those which are hypothetical. (Krüg.) — καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν . . . τούτους, and that these men henceforth be your subjects, depends on ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν.

§ 8. ὁ ἄρχων: the principal man among the chiefs (§ 3, 4), who acted as speaker.



§ 9. τί . . . χρῆσασθαι, *for what you will want to make use of us*; instead of ἡμῶν, we should expect ἡμῖν as dependent on χρῆσθαι, but by a species of anticipation the pronoun is put in the case required by δεήσεσθε.

§ 10. ἐτι. Cf. note 1, 6, 8. — τὴν τῶν . . . πολεμίων belongs to χώραν as an adjective clause.

§ 11. ἐπὶ τούτοις: cf. 3, 2, 4. — πλοῖα μονόξυλα, *boats made of one piece of wood*, i. e. *canoes*. — οὗ δέο: the article is used because by giving the whole sum the part is consequently definite. According to our idiom the article would not be translated.

§ 12. ἔστησαν, *they* (i. e. the barbarians who remained) *stood*. — μάλιστα, *at most* = *about*, since in approximate designations of number the highest estimate is given. — οἷον, *as for example*. — βοῶν: cf. note 4, 5, 14. — ξύλου depends not on ὕπισθεν but upon σφαιροειδές and is gen. of the material: — *and having at the hinder extremity the form of a ball, made of the wood itself*.

§ 13. ὑπὲρ γονάτων, *above the knees*, i. e. they did not reach down to the knees. — λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμων limits χιτωνίσκους, and πάχος is accus. by synec.; cf. εἶδες and πλέθρων 1, 2, 23; lit. *about of a linen bed-sack in thickness*, i. e. *of about the thickness of a linen bed-sack*. — ταυροειδῆ qualifies κράνη. — σαργάρεις: cf. note 4, 4, 16.

§ 15. ὥκειτο: cf. note 1, 4, 1. — ἀεὶ, *at any time*, a common meaning of ἀεὶ when placed between the article and particip. or adjunct. The account of this word in L. & S. is defective. — πάντων depends on ἐγκαταίει.

§ 16. προσιόντων, sc. αὐτῶν. Cf. προϊόντων 1, 2, 17. — τέως μὲν: cf. note 4, 2, 12.

§ 17. νόμῳ τινί, *in a certain time*.

§ 20. τῇ ὄντι, *in reality*. — καὶ ἡμᾶς, sc. πολεμίους εἶναι. — ἅπερ, sc. ἔπραξαν. — δίκην δεδόκασιν: cf. note on διδοίη δίκην 2, 6, 21. — ἀθίς, *again*, *in future*.

§ 21. οὐχ ὁμοίως . . . νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε, lit. *they will not fight with similar men both now and when etc.*, i. e. in our idiom, *they will not fight with the same men now as when etc.*

§ 22. κατὰ ταῦτά, *after the same manner* as the Greeks, i. e. in column.

§ 23. ἦσαν . . . οἱ, *for some of the enemy*. Gr. § 331, Rem. 4. — τοῖς λίθοις, *with the stones*, i. e. with such as they had, or with such as they could pick up. — ἀνέστελλον, *attempted to drive back*. Cf. note on ἐβιάζετο 1, 3, 1. — πρῶτον μὲν: the antithesis would be ἐπειτα δὲ ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μητροπόλιν, instead of which another construction § 25 is substituted, owing to the intervening clause.

§ 25. τοῖς παλτοῖς. The article is used because παλτά have already been mentioned § 12, as weapons used by the Mossynoeci. — ἄλλα

*δόρατα*, having other (weapons) also (namely) spears etc. Cf. note on ἄλλο δέσθρον 1, 5, 5. — ἐκ χειρός, by casting (these weapons) from the hand; cf. ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες 3, 3, 15.

§ 26. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, from this place also, as from the place mentioned § 24. — καὶ φυλάττουσιν, and (whom) they guard. *Mossyni reges suffragio deliquit vinculisque et artissima custodia tenent.* Pompon. Mela 1, 19. (cited by Hert.) — ἐν τῷ πρότερον ἀρθεῖντι χωρίῳ: the place mentioned § 15, as being in front of the metropolis. — *μοσσύνους*, a heteroclitic form of *μόσσυν*.

§ 27. *νεμημένον*, from νέω, I pile up, or hoard up. — *πατέροις*; Hert. understands this in the sense of *πατέροις*, handed down from their fathers, and supposes that something like ship-bread is described: Krüg. more naturally takes the word in its ordinary sense, such as they were accustomed to hoard up from the times of their forefathers. — αἱ *πλείστα*, the chief part; assimilated to the same form with *ζεῖα*; though we should expect ὁ *πλείστος* as the form suggested by *σίτον*. In like manner in § 29 *τούτῳ* instead of *τούτοις*, sc. *καρβύοις*.

§ 28. *καρβὰ τὰ πλατέα*, chestnuts, which grow in that region in great abundance. They were probably little known to the Greeks of that time.

§ 29. *τούτῳ*, cf. note § 27. — *πλείστῳ* belongs to *τούτῳ* as predicate. These they made use of even in the greatest abundance as food etc. — *οἶνος*: still made in the valleys of this region from the grapes which grow wild.

§ 30. *προσεχώρου*, surrendered. — αἱ δέ, without a preceding αἱ μέν, limits the too general statement which precedes: some more, some less.

§ 31. *ἀναβοώντων . . . ἐνῆκονον*, and they mutually heard one another in shouting etc. — *εἰς τὴν . . . ἐκ τῆς . . .*: the common order would be *ἐκ τῆς . . . εἰς τὴν . . .*: yet cf. 6, 4, 2.

§ 32. *τῶν εὐδαιμόνων*, like *beatorum*, = *τῶν πλουσίων*. — οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας . . . εἶναι, lit. wanting not much to be, = almost. — *ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια*, tattooed with figures of flowers. The expression in the act. is *στίγειν τινὰ ἀνθέμια*.

§ 33. αἶς by attraction instead of ἄς. — *σφίσι*: the reflexive is used because the Mossynoeci are thought of as the logical subject.

§ 34. *ἔλεγον*: see Introd. § 6. — *τούτους βαρβαρωτάτους διαλθεῖν*, lit. that they passed through these the most barbarous, i. e. that these were the most barbarous people through whom they passed etc. — *τολμᾶν*, sc. *ποιεῖν*. — *ὅμοια . . . ὄντες*, they did such things as (they would do) in the presence of others; these things he immediately enumerates. — *ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν*, by themselves, i. e. when alone; a conjecture of Krüg. instead of *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς*, at themselves; cf. 2, 4, 10. — *τόχοιεν*, sc. *ὄντες*.

## CHAP. V.

Passing through the country of the Chalybes they reach Cotyora. Here they remain forty-five days, subsisting meanwhile by plundering the territory of the Paphlagonians and also of Cotyora. The Sinopians complain of this, but are silenced by a decisive reply from Xenophon.

§ 1. *Χάλυβας*: not the same as those mentioned above 4, 7, 15.

§ 2. *καὶ . . . ἐνηθῆναι τι*, and that the army be benefited somewhat; instead of the pass. *ἐνηθῆναι*, we should expect here the act. *ἐνήσσει*; for a similar change of construction, cf. 7, 3, 3. — *ἦκε*, predicated of things, cf. 4, 8, 24.

§ 3. *καταθυσάντων*, sc. *αὐτῶν*. — *γνώμην*: the singular number, though predicated of several persons: a common idiom in Greek as also in English. — *Κοτύωρα*: now called Ordu. — *ἀποίκους*: in apposition with the collective noun *πόλις*. — *ὤντας δέ*: without a preceding *μέν*; cf. note on *ἐμὸς δέ* 1, 7, 9.

§ 4. *ἐπέφυσεν*, from *πέφυω*. — *πληθος . . . τῆς ὁδοῦ*: Herod. 4, 123, uses *πληθος* in the same way; but in 1, 72, and 2, 11, he uses *μῆκος* instead of *πληθος*. Cf. note on *ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ* 2, 2, 6. — *ἐν Βαβυλῶνι* may be rendered in the neighborhood of Babylon. Cf. note on *ἐν . . . Πόντῳ* 4, 8, 22. — *ἄχρι εἰς*: cf. note 4, 5, 6.

§ 7. *φοβούμενοι*, though it agrees grammatically with *πρέσβεις*, in idea it is predicated of all the Sinopians. — *φόρον ἔφερον*: cf. *φυλάκας φυλάξειν* 2, 6, 10. — *δεινὸς . . . λέγειν*, reputed to be an eloquent man.

§ 8. *τὲ . . . δέ* are here correlative. The adversative *δέ* indicates that the clause which it introduces contains a much more important statement than the preceding clause. — *ξυνηγορομένους*, to congratulate you etc.

§ 11. *ἐνίοις* is in apposition with *ὑμᾶς*, the part in apposition with the whole: cf. note on *ἀνθρώπους* 2, 5, 5. — *οὐ πείθοντας* after *βία* is pleonastic.

§ 12. *ταῦτα . . . ἀξιούμεν*, wherefore we do not consider these things proper. — *Κορύλλαν*: ruler of the Paphlagonians, cf. 6, 1, 2. — *ἄλλον ὄντινα*: cf. note on *ἄλλα ὑπόστα* 1, 10, 3.

§ 13. *Ἡμεῖς δέ*: cf. note on *δέ* 4, 6, 10. — *ἔχειν καὶ φέρειν*: cf. note 2, 6, 5.

§ 14. *ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν*. The correlative clause is *Κορυλλίτας δέ* § 19. — *ἀνθ' ὧν = ἀντὶ τούτων* &, since *τιμᾶν* may take an accus. both of a person and of a thing; cf. 1, 3, 3. — *ἀντί* is expressed both in composition with the verb and also before the case. — *τούτων* refers to the collective *τις*: cf. *αὐτοῦς* 1, 4, 8. — *ἡγοῦντο*, iterative optative.

§ 15. *ἡμῶν* is the object of *ἔτυχον*, *εὑρίσκων τῶν* is predicate; *what sort of men they found us* (to be).

§ 16. *ἂν τε . . . ἂν τε*: supply mentally the clause *ἐλθόντες . . . ἔχουμεν*.

§ 17. *καὶ μάλα*: cf. note 1, 5, 8. — *πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα*, *we acquired as enemies*, i. e. *we made (them) our enemies*.

§ 18. *Μάκρυνας*: cf. 4, 8, 8. — *τῶν ἐκείνων*, *of those things belonging to them*; cf. *τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου* 2, 5, 38.

§ 19. *Κοτυωρίτας δέ*, *But in respect to the inhabitants of Cotyora*. We should naturally expect here the nominative as subject of *εἰσὶν*. The accus. may be explained as an instance of inverted attraction to the case of the relative *οὗς*; or with Krüg. as an anacoluthon, the sentence commencing as though *εἰ τι ἀφηρημέθα* were to follow.

§ 20. *ὃ . . . λέγεις*, *but as to what you say* etc. We should expect *εἶ* *ἴσθι* *ὅτι ἡμεῖς*, instead of *ἡμεῖς* alone; cf. 6, 1, 29. — *ἧ . . . χωρίον*, *where the place itself* (from the nature of its situation) *gave us admission*. — *δέ* after *σκηνοῦσι*, used like *ἀλλὰ* 3, 2, 13. — *ἐπί*: cf. note 1, 1, 4. — *κομίσασθαι*, *to carry ourselves*, i. e. *to go*. Cf. 3, 2, 26.

§ 21. *οἱ ἄλλοι* is in apposition with the subject of *σκηνοῦμεν*, *but we the others* etc. Cf. *οἱ στρατηγοὶ* 2, 5, 25. — *ὀπαῖθριοι*: cf. note on *σκοταῖοι* 2, 2, 17.

§ 22. *ἡμεῖς δέ*. Through the word *δέ*, the following part of the sentence exhibits an anacoluthon with respect to the beginning; as though it had commenced *σὺ μὲν ἠπέλθης*. — *ποιούμεθα*: the fut. would be the common construction. — *τὸν Παφλαγῶνα* = *τὸν ἔρχοντα τῶν Παφλαγόνων*.

§ 24. *τοῖς εἰρημένους*, *at those things which had been spoken*, i. e. by their own orator Hecatonymus. — *ξενίοις*, connect with *δεξιόμεθα*, *we will receive you with gifts of hospitality*. — *τοὺς ἐνθάδε*, i. e. the Cotyriorians.

§ 25. *τὰ* after *ξένια* is a correlative of *καὶ* before *πρός*. — *ἐπιτήδεια* = *φιλικά*.

## CHAP. VI.

The Sinopians advise the Greeks to proceed by sea, and they agree to follow the advice on condition that the Sinopians furnish a sufficient number of ships for the purpose. The design of Xenophon to found a new city in Pontus is frustrated by the treachery of the soothsayer Silanus.

§ 1. *χρήσιμοι . . . ἡγούμενοι*: *the Sinopians seemed* etc. It is more easily translated impersonally, *it seemed that the Sinopians by acting as guides would be useful*; *ἂν* belongs to *εἶναι*. — *εἶτε κατὰ δόξαντα*, sc. *δεῖοι πορεύεσθαι*.

§ 2. καὶ ἤξιον . . . συμβουλεύειν, and they demanded of (the Sinopians) as Greeks, that they should above all things receive (them) favorably in this way, in being friendly to Greeks and in giving the best advice; Ἑλλησι depends on εἶνους, but is placed next to Ἑλλήνας ὄντας, on account of the paronomasia. Cf. note 1, 9, 2; τοῦτο i. e. τῷ εἶναι κ.τ.λ. See Gr. § 304, 2.

§ 3. ἔξιν . . . εἶναι, it being permitted to be friends to the barbarians. Cf. note 2, 5, 22.

§ 4. πολλά . . . γένοιτο: a wish, would that etc. — αὕτη is subject; and as usual is assimilated in form to the following predicate: λεγομένη εἶναι, said to be, a common method of citing a proverb. Gr. § 264, Rem. 1. The proverb alluded to was ἱερὸν ἡ συμβουλὴ, advice is a sacred thing. We may render the clause somewhat freely, for this (fact), advice is a sacred thing according to the proverb, (this) seems now to be fulfilled, (lit. seems to be present with me.) — γὰρ after νῦν has reference also to the sentence εἰ μὲν . . . πάντας; so also in § 6 the second γὰρ refers to the same sentence as the first γὰρ.

§ 5. τὰ πλοῖα, the boats; the article here does not imply that they have been mentioned, but means simply the requisite boats. — ἦν . . . στέλασθε, but if you set out etc.

§ 6. λεκτέα ἂ γηγνώσκω, I must tell you what I judge (to be best). For the construction of λεκτέα, see Gr. § 284, 3, (12).

§ 7. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, sc. τὴν εἰσβολὴν ποιῆσθαι. — ἄλλῃ ἢ ᾧ, any where else than where. — τῆς ὁδοῦ depends on ἑκατέρω. — ἂ depends on κατέχοντες. — καὶ πάνυ, even very.

§ 8. καὶ νῦν, and now; doubtless on the occasion of the battle of Cynaëa. — μείζον φρονεῖ, is too proud, i. e. to obey the summons of the king.

§ 9. κλέψαι: cf. note 4, 6, 11. — ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, to the rivers; the article is used because they are to be mentioned immediately, so that we may render ἐπὶ τοὺς, to the following. — πλέθρων limits θερμώδοντα: cf. note 1, 2, 28. — ἄλλως τε καὶ πολ-, especially when at the same time enemies etc. Cf. 7, 7, 40. — ἄβατος, not fordable (Krüg.).

§ 10. οὐ: not only.

§ 11. Κορύβα: objective genitive limiting φίλας. This Doric form of the gen. was used also by Attic writers in certain appellatives and in foreign proper names, especially Doric and Aeolic proper names. Gr. § 44, Rem. 2. — δ' ὅν: cf. note 1, 2, 12.

§ 12. οὕτω δὲ ἔχει, but the case is thus = but on this condition. — ἡμεῖς δέ: cf. L. & S. under δέ, 4. In such a connection we cannot well translate δέ.

§ 13. χῆρα: loco. Cf. 5, 7, 28.

§ 15. καὶ ἱππεῖς . . . ἱκανούς: lit. and horsemen also (being) already even very skilful through discipline. — ἐνθα . . . παρεσκευάσθη, where so

*great a force could not be collected with small means*, i. e. in case any one should wish to found a colony in that region. — *αὐτῷ* is repeated for the sake of perspicuity, because *Ξενοφῶντι* is so far removed. Cf. *αὐτόν* 2, 4, 7.

§ 16. *αὐτῶν*, of themselves, i. e. Xen. and his men. — *Σιλανόν*: cf. 1, 7, 18.

§ 17. *ἑαυτῷ*: cf. note on *ἑαυτόν* 1, 8, 29.

§ 18. *τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας*: the article is used because the *δέκα ἡμέραι* are mentioned 1, 7, 18. — *ἡλῆθευσε*: cf. note on *ἡλῆθευσαι* 4, 4, 15. — *Κύρου*, for *Cyrus*, limits *δυόμενος*.

§ 19. *ἵτι* is repeated on account of the intervening clause. Cf. 7, 4, 5; and *μή* in 3, 2, 25.

§ 20. *ἔχειν* depends on *ἀπόρους*, being at a loss etc. — *ὡς οἴκαδε*, as if towards home, with the intention of going home. — *τῆς . . . οἰκουμένης*, partitive gen. dependent on *ἐκλεξάμενοι*. — *κατασχεῖν*, *ἀπιέναι*, and *μένειν* depend on *βούλεσθε*; but the first is to be connected in idea with *βούλησθε*, the second with *τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα*, the third with *τὸν δὲ ἐθέλοντα*. — *δέ* after *πλοῖα* is used in the same way as *δέ* after *ἡμῶς* in § 12.

§ 22. *ἄσμενος*: cf. note 2, 1, 16. — *προσέχειν μὲν*, to direct attention towards staying, i. e. towards settling in this region.

§ 23. *Κυζικηνόν*, sc. *στατήρα*; was equal in value to the Daric, cf. 1, 1, 9. The name is from the island Cyzicus where this stater was coined. Dic. Antiqq. art. Stater. — *ἐκορτες*, sc. *οἱ πολλοί* implied in *ἡ πόλις*. Cf. *ἀποίκους* 5, 5, 8.

§ 24. *ἐνθεν*, to a place where. Cf. note on *ἔθεν* 1, 8, 17. — *καὶ τῆς . . . πάσης*, and all the government of *Pharnabazus*, i. e. the satrapy called Dascylitis, to which, besides the countries mentioned, Bithynia also belonged. — *ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι κ.τ.λ.* This took place in 411 B. C. Cf. Thucyd. 8, 61 and 80.

§ 25. *τῷ βουλομένῳ* is connected like *αὐτοῖς* with *ἔσεσθαι* just as though *ἔστε* had not been expressed. It must be rendered as though it were *τὸν βουλόμενον*.

§ 26. *τὴν μισθοφορίαν*, the (requisite) pay. Cf. *τὴν* before *δίκην* 1, 8, 20. — *ἔστε*: cf. note 2, 6, 6.

§ 27. *εἰς* often stands with verbs of speaking, because (says Hert.) the speaker is conceived of as entering into the midst of the hearers; cf. 28, 37. — *τὸ κοινόν*, the common authority having charge of the general interests; cf. 5, 7, 17.

§ 28. *καὶ νῦν*: cf. note on *καὶ τότε* 4, 3, 11.

§ 29. *τὸ μὲν μέγιστον*, the most important thing, chiefly; cf. 1, 3, 10. — *ἄπειρον*, sc. *τῶν ἱερῶν*. — *ἐμοί* depends on *ἐπιβουλή*. Verbal nouns not unfrequently take the construction of the verbs from which they are derived. — *ἐπεβόλευε*, used here with the infin. : *planned, plotted*.

§ 80. ἀφ' οὗ . . . ὥστε, lit. *whence it might take place so that*, or in an Eng. idiom, *how it might be brought about that* etc. ὥστε is not unfrequently used in this manner after γίγνεσθαι. — τὸν μὲν, and τὸν δέ are in partitive apposition with ὑμᾶς. Cf. note 4, 6, 25. — τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, *but the one not wishing (to sail away at once, might sail) after he had acquired* etc.

§ 81. καὶ . . . ἄνδρας, *and see persons promising* etc. The allusion is to Timasion and Thorax. — σωζομένους ἐνθα, *arriving safely at the place where* etc. — βουλόμεθα: cf. note 5, 7, 6. — μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, *pay for arriving in safety*. Cf. μισθὸν τῆς ἀσφαλείας, 7, 6, 30.

§ 82. ἄν belongs to εἶναι and ἔχειν, cf. 5, 6, 1. — ἐν γὰρ . . . ἦντόνων; for the same sentiment, cf. 3, 2, 28. — διασπασθέντες καὶ γενομένης: cf. note 1, 10, 6. — χαίροντες, see L. & S. VII, 2.

§ 83. ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα: cf. note 3, 2, 9.

§ 84. τὴν δίκην: cf. note 1, 3, 20.

§ 85. τὰ χρήματα . . . ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν, *deceived in respect to the money, did not keep their word in respect* etc. — τῆς μισθοφορᾶς limits τὰ χρήματα. The position of the gen. is no more strange than that of τῶν Καρδούχων (the second) 4, 3, 1.

§ 86. ἀνεκεκίνητο: cf. 3, 1, 5. — Φάσιν: the well-known river of this name in Colchis; cf. note 4, 6, 4.

§ 87. εἰς τήν: cf. note § 27 above. — γνόμεν: cf. note 1, 6, 9. — οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν: several manuscripts and editions have μὴ ἐκ. Kühner says, utrumque aptum; μὴ, *ne concionem convocarent*; οὐκ, *se nolle convocare concionem*. Cf. Thucyd. 1, 89. ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ἐνυμαχεῖν.

## CHAP. VII.

Much excitement prevails in the army occasioned by the report that Xenophon is about to conduct them back to the Phasis. Xenophon calls the army together and eloquently defends himself; he then takes occasion to describe the conduct of a part of the army who had abused ambassadors sent from Cerasus. A resolution is passed that the affair be investigated.

§ 1. πάλιν εἰς Φάσιν, *back to Phasis*. It seems that Neon confounded the Phasis in Colchis to which the other generals proposed to sail with the Phasis which they had passed in Armenia. Cf. 4, 6, 4.

§ 2. ξύλλογοι, *gatherings* of the soldiers; κόκλοι, *groups* collected around one person who acted as speaker. Cf. Lat. *circuli*. — καὶ μῦλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, *μὴ*, *and they were causing much fear, lest*; in other words, *and it was greatly to be feared, that* etc. — τοῖς: the article is used as

if the events here alluded to, though not related till afterwards, were already known to the reader.

§ 3. ἀγοράν is here used in the sense of ἐκκλησίαν, a use not common in the Attic writers.

§ 4. ὅτι, *that, saying that.*

§ 5. αὐτοῖς χρήσθε, *treat them, use them.*

§ 6. τοῦμπάλιν πρὸς ἔω : repeat from the preceding clause δεῖ πορεύεσθαι. — ὅς ἥλιος . . . ἐπρεῖθεν : *that the sun rises at that point and sets yonder, while (in fact) it sets there and rises from thence.* The meaning of this sentence would be rendered perfectly clear by the gestures of the speaker.

§ 7. βερέας and νότος : without the article, as the names of winds are often used ; cf. 4, 5, 8. See also note on ἥλιος 1, 10, 15. — ἐξαπατήσαι. On this form of the optat. see Gr. § 116, 9. Notice also the difference in accent between this word and the infin. in § 6.

§ 8. ἀλλὰ γὰρ : *but (some one may say, I may deceive you) for.*

§ 9. ποιῶ, *I make this supposition, I will suppose.* — καὶ δὴ, *and grant that.* — πῶς . . . βουλευόμενος, *how therefore could a single man suffer a worse punishment than by forming such plans etc.*

§ 10. ἐγρηγορέναι (from ἐγείρω) . . . ἐπιμαλόμενος, *to watch, (while) caring for etc., i. e. to watch carefully etc.* — παρίημι, sc. ἔρχειν, *I give it up to him.* The asyndeton adds greatly to the vivacity of the description. — μόνον, *adv. only.*

§ 11. ἀλλὰ γὰρ : cf. note 8, 2, 26. — ἄλλον is the object of ἐξαπατήσαι, with which supply ἔν from the preceding clause ; or *that I might deceive any other person etc.*

§ 12. ὅταν . . . ἄλις ἔχητε, *when you have enough of, are satisfied in respect to etc.* — εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται : cf. note on περιῶσι 4, 1, 8. — ὅλον ὑποδείκνυσιν, *such as it appears in the beginning (ἔπο-).* — καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων, in apposition with ἀνθρώπων.

§ 13. ὃν = τούτων δ. — δοκοῦσι . . . τινές, *and some of you also seem to me ; or thus, and I think that some of you also ;* ἐλθόντες . . . ἀπελθεῖν, *having gone . . . returned back again.*

§ 14. τοῦτο καταμαθὼν ὅτι, by anticipation instead of καταμαθὼν ὅτι τοῦτο : cf. note 1, 1, 5. — αὐτοῖς, i. e. τοὺς ἐν τῇ χωρίῳ : cf. ἀποίκους 5, 5, 8.

§ 15. ἐλθεῖν : cf. note 2, 1, 1. — παραπλέοντες : in 5, 1, 16, παραγωγή is used. It will be recollected that a part of the army (cf. 5, 3, 1,) was conveyed in boats along the coast. — εἰ τι : cf. note 1, 5, 1.

§ 16. αὐτὸν . . . γενομένη, *day unexpectedly breaks upon him ;* cf. 3, 4, 49. — οἱ δὲ τινες : cf. note 2, 3, 15.



§ 17. *ὁμοῖοι ἐξαμύναν*, we set out (to come) *hither*. — *τῶν πλεόντων*: cf. 5, 4, 1. — *τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον*, our common authorities, the officers of our army; cf. 5, 6, 27.

§ 18. *ἐπεὶ . . . ἔφασαν*, but when they declared, said they (the Cerastii); the accusative with the infin. or as here the nominat. (*σφεῖς*) with the infin. may stand even after conjunctions (as *ἐπεὶ*) just as after relative pronouns (e. g. 2, 2, 1.); *σφεῖς*, the subject of the infin. *λέγειν*, stands instead of *σφῆς* because the infin. and the governing verb *ἔφασαν* have the same subject. (Hert.) Still the construction of *σφεῖς λέγειν* is very unusual and there is some reason to doubt the correctness of the text. — *ἀπὸ κοινῆς*, by public authority. — *καλεῖσθαι*, in the same construction with *λέγειν* to which it is connected by *καί*. — *τοὺς . . . θεωμένους*, the persons making this, i. e. the friends of the deceased. This clause is in apposition with *αὐτοῖς* and is the subject of *δέκτεται*, that they themselves should take and bury the dead.

§ 19. *τινὲς*: cf. note 3, 3, 4. — *τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅποι*, instead of *ὅποι οἱ βάρβαροι*: cf. note § 14 above. — *τοῖς λίθοις*: cf. note 5, 4, 23. — *παρακελεύοντο*, so. *βάλλειν*.

§ 21. *τῶν ὅλων*: cf. note on τὰ ὅλα 2, 2, 20.

§ 22. *ὥς ἔν*: so. *ἀποχωροῦν*, as they would (naturally) withdraw after having even witnessed etc.

§ 26. *τούτους-τί δοκεῖτε*: what do you think of these persons? Hertlein supposes here an ellipsis of some infin. as *δρᾶσαι*. — *ἡδίκων* has the force of a pluperf. So also *ἔδικε* § 29 is perf. in meaning. Cf. note on *νικᾶν* 2, 1, 1.

§ 27. *ἀνελίσθαι* depends on *κέραιοι*, without *τοῦ* before the infin. Cf. note on *ἀνίστασθαι* 4, 4, 11. — *οἱ βουλόμενοι*: the sing. would be more common. — *τῶν λόγων* limits *λόγων*.

§ 28. *ἐν οὐδενὶ χώρῳ*, in no position, i. e. will be without power. — *ὁμῶν* limits *δν*.

§ 29. *καὶ διαπεπράχασιν*, have also accomplished; i. e. consider not merely their guilt but also the unhappy condition into which they have brought us. — On the position of *οἶτοι*, cf. note 4, 2, 6.

§ 30. *ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι*, so. *ἀφικνεῖσθαι* suggested by *ἀφικνῆσθε*. — *ἡρῡς*, as herald, in apposition with *τίς*.

§ 31. *ἀλλὰ*: cf. note 4, 6, 19. — *ἡμεῖς*, i. e. *οἱ στρατηγοί*. — *δοξάτω ὑμῖν*, lit. let it seem good to you, i. e. ratify it by a formal vote. — *ὥς*, on the ground that, in the expectation that; cf. 5, 2, 12.

§ 33: *οὗ*, where; the reference is to Greece. — *πάντων* limits *ἐπεί*.

§ 34. *δοῦναι* having *τοὺς . . . ἔφρατας* for its subject depends on *ἐλεγεν*. Cf. note on *ἐλεγε* 1, 3, 8. — *τοῦ λοιποῦ*, henceforth; cf. 6, 4, 11. — *αὐτοῖς* refers to *τίς*: cf. note on *αὐτοῖς* 1, 4, 8. — *ἐπὶ*: cf. note 1, 6, 10. — *ἐξ οὗ*, since.

## CHAP. VIII.

Investigation is also made into the past conduct of the generals. Several of them are fined for delinquencies. On the preferment of some charges against Xenophon, he defends himself with his accustomed ability.

§ 1. *δικὴν ὑποσχεῖν*, *should submit themselves to a trial*. — *διδόντων*: sc. *αὐτῶν δικὴν*. *δοῦναι δικὴν* = *ὑποσχεῖν δικήν*. — *τῆς φυλακῆς* as gen. of cause depends on *ᾧφλε* (from *ᾧφλισκάνω*); Gr. § 274, 2. Observe that *φυλακῆ* here denotes *negligent guarding*. Cf. the use of *δύναμις* 1, 6, 7. — *τὸ μείωμα* is also dependent on *ᾧφλε* as accus. of cognate meaning; Gr. § 278, 1 and 2. *μῦς* is in apposition with *μείωμα*: *was fined, for negligently guarding the cargoes of the ships, twenty minae, the (amount of) the loss on the cargoes*. *τῶν . . . χρημάτων* limits both *φυλακῆς* and *τὸ μείωμα*. For the allusion, cf. 5, 1, 16. — *Χοφαίνετος δέ*, sc. *ᾧφλε*. — *ἄρχων αἰρεθείς*: cf. 5, 8, 1.

§ 2. *λέξαντα*, sc. *παύσθαι*. — *καί* after *ποῦ* imparts emphasis to the interrogative. Cf. *καί* after *ἦ*, *τι* 1, 8, 16, after *ἐπηρίκα* 3, 5, 18. — *ἐπαλλόμεθα*, *were perishing*; cf. 4, 5.

§ 3. *οἶον*: by assimilation instead of *τοιούτου οἶον*. — *παρόν*: cf. note on *ἐξόν* 2, 5, 22. — *πολλῶν* gen. abs. with *ἀπαγορευόντων*. — *ἔων ὀβριστετέρες*: a proverbial form of expression, *worse tempered than asses, which by reason of their bad temper do not, (as) men say, become weary*.

§ 4. *ἐκ τίνος* = *διὰ τί* § 12. After each of the following questions we must imagine a pause sufficiently long for an answer, which is supposed to be negative, and hence the force of *ἀλλά*. — For the difference between *ἦσαν* and *ἦσαν*, cf. note 1, 2, 11. — After *μαχόμενος*, supply mentally *ἐκταῖον* sc. — *ἐπαφύνησα*, from *παραινέω*, commonly takes a double augment.

§ 5. *τὸν κάμνοντα*: cf. note on *τούς* 5, 7, 2.

§ 7. *διέδωκα*, sc. *τὰ σκεύη*. — *ἀπό* in composition with *ἀγαγεῖν* and the other verbs of this sentence, is to be understood as in *ἀπήνουν* § 4. — *πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν*, *to return them* (i. e. *τὰ σκεύη*) *to me*.

§ 8. *τασέυτεον*, *ἔτι*, *only so far as this, that* etc. Cf. note 1, 8, 14. — *ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι*: cf. note 2, 1, 12.

§ 10. *ὅποσα γε βούλεται*: an expression of indifference; *as much as he pleases* may he live, it does not concern me. — *ἀληθῆ λέγεις*, *stands independent of the grammatical construction, as often οἶμαι*: cf. note 2, 1, 16. — *ἔδοξας κ.τ.λ.*, *for you seemed to me to resemble a person who knew* etc.

§ 11. *Καὶ γὰρ*, *and since*; cf. note on *γὰρ* 8, 2, 29.

§ 12. ὀλίγως, *too little*, *sc. πλεονάζας*.

§ 13. ὅσους ἤκει, *as many as it suited, as many as were pleased*; a sarcasm. — ἰδόντων, *sc. ἡμῶν*: cf. note 1, 4, 12.

§ 14. προείμενον αὐτόν: mid. voice with a reflexive pronoun as object, cf. note 1, 8, 29. — τῷ . . . χειμῶνι: the article is used because it was something well known, in vivid remembrance. — κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς, *was aware that I rose up etc.*; μόλις qualifies both ἀναστὰς and ἐκτείνων. For the construction, see Gr. § 810, 4. (a.)

§ 15. ὅποτε ἴδοιμι, is iterative; cf. βούλοιστο 1, 2, 7. — ἐπουργὸν τῷ ἀπο-, *conducive to the etc.*

§ 17. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. note 1, 9, 8. — ἐπὶ with the dat. cf. note 1, 1, 4. — τί μέγα . . . λαμβάνειν, *what so grievous thing might they have suffered as that (δου, lit. for which) they would think it proper to receive satisfaction. μέγα οὕτως*: cf. note 4, 8, 26.

§ 18. γονεῖς, and διδασκαλοὶ, *sc. ὑπέχουσι*. — καὶ γὰρ, *and (it often happens that for the good of others we give them pain) for etc.*

§ 19. οὖν ἢ τότε: cf. note 3, 2, 30. — εἰδία: used figuratively for safety, as the antithetical χεῖμῶν means danger.

§ 20. δάλασσα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται; L. & S. render under ἐπιφέρειν, *a great sea dashes against (the ship)*; Kühner considers μεγάλην as predicata, *the sea is borne high*; cf. Gr. § 264, 3. With this use of μεγάλην, cf. Lat. magnam.

§ 21. παρεδικάσατε = ἐδικάσατε κατ' αὐτῶν, *decided against them*. — ἔχοντες: on the asyndeton, cf. note on ἔδοξεν 3, 1, 11.

§ 22. αὐτῶν, i. e. τῶν ἀνακτοῦντων, since τὸν ἀνακτοῦντα is collective. — οἶμαι has no influence on the grammatical structure of the sentence; cf. note § 10.

§ 23. γοῦν: cf. note 3, 2, 17. — διεμύχετο μὴ φέρειν, *lit. fought (it) through not to carry, i. e. persisted in not carrying*. — ἀποδέδυκεν, is here transitive, though in the perf. and 2d aor. act. it is regularly intrans. Gr. § 158, 2.

§ 24. τὰναντία ἢ . . . ποιούσι: we cannot say, *the contrary than they do*, and must adopt an entirely different form of expression, *the reverse of what they do etc.* — διδάσει, from the poetic διδῆμι = δέω. — τὴν νύκτα θήσερε, *you will bind him during the night*; most likely because he committed his depredations, such as those mentioned § 23, by night.

§ 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ: cf. note 3, 2, 26. — εἰ δέ τοι . . . ἐπεκούρησα, *but if I protected any one against a storm*; χειμῶνα is constructed with ἐπεκούρησα as with ἀμύνειν or ἀλέξειν with which it is here synonymous. — ἀπῆρξα: cf. note on ἐρύκειν 3, 1, 25.

§ 26. περιεγένετο . . . ἔχειν, *lit. it resulted so as to be well, i. e. the result was in all respects favorable*.

## BOOK SIXTH.

## From Cotyora to Chrysopolis.

## CHAP. I.

The Greeks entertain with a banquet ambassadors from Paphlagonia and conclude a peace with their nation. On the next day, they set sail from Cotyora, and after a prosperous voyage reach Sinope. While here they conclude to give the sole command to a single general and offer the position to Xenophon. He prudently declines, and Chirisophus, who had now returned to the army, is appointed.

§ 1. ἐκλάπενον: caught by lying in wait; an unusual word. — ἐδ μάλα, very expertly. — πολεμικώτατα ἔχειν: cf. εὐνοικῶς ἔχ. 1, 1, 5; κακῶς ἔχ. 1, 5, 16; ἀθύμως ἔχ. 3, 1, 3; πολεμικώτατα is the superlative of πολεμικῶς. — ἐκ τούτων: cf. note 1, 3, 11.

§ 2. ἔτοιμος like ἔδοξε § 14, properly applies only to ἀδικεῖν; to ἀδικεῖσθαι only by a zeugma, which is the less striking inasmuch as μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι expresses only the idea εἰρήνην ἔχειν; whence also the position of τοὺς Ἕλληνας (which would otherwise stand after ἀδικεῖν) is to be explained.

§ 3. ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ, lit. to hospitality, i. e. they received them as guests. — ἀνδρῶν here refers to the Greeks. — δικαιοτάτους, sc. παρακαλεῖσθαι. We have here the personal construction. Cf. note 2, 5, 41.

§ 5. σπονδαί: libations and a paeon followed regularly after the meal was finished; cf. Conviv. 2, 1. — ὑψηλά = ἄλματα ὑψηλά. — τέλος: adv., cf. 1, 10, 13. — ὥς . . . ἔδῳκει: ὥς = ὥστε, so that. — πεπληγέναι is somewhat doubtful, since this perf. seems not to have been used in a pass. sense till after the time of Xen., and to translate it as act. seems a little awkward. Butt. conjectures πεπληχθαι; Küh. πλεγγῆναι; as distinguished in meaning from παῖω, it denotes here a fatal stroke.

§ 6. τὸν Σιτάλην: a song in honor of Sitalces a Thracian king; perhaps the one mentioned by Thucyd. 2, 29. — ἦν πεπονθῶς: cf. note 2, 2, 13.

§ 7. μετὰ τοῦτο without δέ corresponds to πρῶτον μὲν § 5; cf. § 9. See also note on πρῶτον μὲν 3, 1, 13. — Αἰνιᾶνες: cf. note 1, 2, 6. — Μάγνητες: a people of Thessaly. — τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην, the Carpassa as it is called.

§ 8. *σπεύει καὶ ζευγαλατοῖ*: this of course was merely represented in pantomime. — *πυκνά*: adverbial, *frequently*. — *λῃστοῦ δέ*: for vivacity of expression instead of *ὁ δὲ ὡς λῃστοῦ*. — *πρὸ* expresses here the two ideas of *before* and *for* (Kritg.) — *τὸν ἄνδρα* belongs as object both to *δήσας* and *ἀπάγει*. — *ὁ ζευγαλάτης*, sc. *νικᾷ* which is implied in *δήσας ἀπάγει*.

§ 9. *δύο*: gen. abs. with *ἀντιπατατόμενων*: *μιμούμενος* stands without an object: *acting in pantomime as if two persons were drawn up (and fighting) against (him)*. — *ἐξεκυβλότα* (from *ἐκκυβιστάω*), *he turned a somerset*; *ἐκ* in comp. seems to denote here the act of throwing himself out of the circle in which he had whirled.

§ 10. *ἑκλάζε* (from *ἐκλάζω*); hence this dance was also called according to Pollux *ἑκλάσμα*.

§ 11. *πρὸς . . . αὐλούμενοι*, *having the flute played for them to the measure of the war-dance*. — *πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς*, *to the gods* = *to the temples of the gods*; the former expression being used because the gods were conceived of as dwelling in their temples. — *πρόσοδοι*, *solemn processions*. — *δεινὰ ἐποιούντο*, *considered it extraordinary*; *ποιεῖσθαι* being used in this expression as with *περὶ πολλοῦ* in the same sense as *ἡγεῖσθαι*.

§ 12. *πεπόμενον*: cf. note on *ἐπέπατο* 1, 9, 19. — *πυρρίχην*: a war-dance in which according to Plato (Legg. VII, 815.) the various movements of combatants were imitated.

§ 13. *αἷται . . . εἰεν*, *these were the persons that had driven etc.*; a facetious exaggeration of what is related in 1, 10, 8.

§ 15. *Ἀρμήνη* (or *Ἀρμένη*) was a harbor in the territory of Sinope; hence *τῆς Σινώπης*, as just before *εἰς Σινώπην*, must be understood according to note on *ἐν τῷ . . . Πόντῳ* 4, 8, 22. — *κεράμια*. The principal measure of liquids among the Greeks was the Metretes, to which the common cask (*ἀμφορεύς*, *κάδος*, or *κεράμιον*) was made to correspond. The Attic Metretes contained nearly nine gallons. Dic. Antiqq. art. Metretes.

§ 16. *Χειρίσοφος ἦλθε*: see 5, 1, 4.

§ 17. *εἰσῆει αὐτοὺς*: (*the question*) *occurred to them*; *ὅπως* with its clause is the logical subject of *εἰσῆει*, *how they might arrive etc.*

§ 18. *ἐκ τῆς νικώσης*, sc. *γνώμης*, *according to the prevailing opinion*. So in 6, 2, 12.

§ 19. *ἐπειθεν*: *tried to persuade*. Cf. note on *ἐβιδέζο* 1, 3, 1.

§ 20. *πῇ μὲν*: to this *ὅποτε δέ* § 21 instead of *πῇ δέ* corresponds; cf. 3, 1, 12. — *τυχόν*: accus. abs. like *ἔξόν* etc.; render it, *perchance*.

§ 21. *καὶ τὴν . . . ἀποβαλεῖν*, *that he might even lose his previously acquired reputation*.

§ 22. *διακρίναι* depends on *διαπορουμένην*. — *ὅσπερ μαντευτὸς ἦν*, *the very one who was pointed out (to him) by the oracle etc.*; the personal

instead of the impera. construction *ἔπερ* (*δέσω*) *μαντευτὴν ἦν*: cf. note on *ἀμήχανος* 1, 2, 21. For the allusion, cf. 3, 1, 6. — *τὸ ὄναρ* 3, 1, 11. — *ἀπὸ*: proceeding from, sent from.

§ 23. *συσταθσόμενος*: cf. 3, 1, 8. — *ἀετὸν φεγγόμενον*: for the accus. and particip. instead of the accus. and infin. see Gr. § 310, 4. — *δεξιὸν*: on the right, hence according to Grecian ideas *favorable*; although according to Roman ideas unfavorable. Cf. L. & S. sub *δεξιός*. — *ἔτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἶη* depends by anacoluthon on the verb of the parenthetical clause *δοκεῖ* . . . *ἔλεγεν*, although it would properly depend on *ἀνεμυμήσκετο*, and stand thus, *μέγαν οἰωνὸν ὄντα*. — *οὐκ ἰδιωτικός*, not pertaining to a private man. — *χρηματιστικόν*, indicating an increase of wealth.

§ 25. *ἔλεγον*: cf. note on *ἔλεγε* 1, 3, 8. — *προεβάλλοντο αὐτόν*: they proposed him (Xen.) for themselves, i. e. as their commander.

§ 26. *εἴπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι*: if I am really a man, i. e. if he were not pleased with such an honor, he would not be a man; he would not have human sensibilities. — *Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρός*: the reference is to Chirisophus. — *οὔτε* corresponds to *τε* after *ἐμοί*. — *τυγχάνειν*, sc. *δοκεῖτε* suggested by *δοκεῖ*. — *παρ' αὐτῶν*: from them, i. e. from the Lacedaemonians. — *οὐ πᾶν*: a litotes. — *τι*: accus. synec.

§ 27. *πρόσθεν* . . . *πρὶν*: cf. note 1, 1, 10. — *ὁμολογεῖν*: at the close of the Peloponnesian war 404 B. C. — *αὐτῶν* refers to *τὴν πόλιν* as a collective noun.

§ 28. *ἐπολιόρκησαν*: cf. note 6, 3, 12. — *ἐννοῶ μή*: cf. note 3, 5, 3. The construction of *ἀν σωφρονισθείην* is not affected by the interposition of *ἐννοῶ μή*.

§ 29. *ῥ*: cf. note 5, 5, 20.

§ 30. *εἰ ὀργιούνται κ.τ.λ.*: this is presented as an example to show how ridiculous it would be for the Lacedaemonians to become angry should they not on all occasions obtain the precedence. — *συμποσίαρχον*: cf. Dic. Antiqq. p. 1082, b. Charicles, Scene VI.

§ 31. *πλείονος ἐνδεόν*: that there was need of (something) more; *rem pluribus verbis egere* (Hert.); *ἐνδεόν*, particip. instead of infin. after *ὀρέω*. Gr. § 310, 4. — *ὀμνύω* with the accus. Gr. § 279, 4. — *εἰ*: to ascertain whether. Cf. 4, 1, 3. — *ιδιώτην*: a private man, used here in contradistinction from a *μάντις*. — *ἂν* stands with *γινῶναι* because in an independent sentence it would be *ἂν ἔγνω*, would have known.

§ 32. *Δέξιππος*: cf. 5, 1, 15. — *αὐτόν* after *διέβαλλεν* and also after *νομίζω* refers to Xen. — *Τιμασίῳ*: cf. 3, 2, 37. — *Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι*: in opposition to *Λάκωνι ὄντι*. The Greeks of Asia Minor had no high reputation for bravery.

§ 33. *ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ*: if there may be a voyage = if the wind is favorable.

Of Thacyd. 1, 187. μέχρι πλεῖς γίγνεται. — ἐκείσε κατασχέειν, to land there.

## CHAP. II.

The army sails to Heraclea, where a sedition arises among them, and they separate themselves into three companies. The largest, consisting of Arcadians and Achaeans, chooses ten new commanders; another company remains under the command of Chirisophus; and the third part attaches itself to Xenophon.

§ 1. The rivers here mentioned, as also the Ἰασονία ἀκτὴ, all except the Parthenius lay between Cotyora and Sinope and not between Sinope and Heraclea. This error arises from the fact that Xen. kept no exact record of the march after the arrival of the army in Armenia (as appears from his narrative), but wrote the greater part merely from recollection. See Introduc. § 7. — Ἰπῖος: this Ionic form of the gen. is also used sometimes by Attic writers in foreign words; cf. 1, 2, 12.

§ 2. ἐπὶ: cf. note 2, 3, 8. Others speak of the promontory of Taenarus in Laconia, others of Hermione in Argolis, and others still of Coronea in Boeotia as the place where Hercules descended to the under-world. — πλεόν . . . στάδια: cf. note 4, 6, 11.

§ 3. κεράμια: cf. note 6, 1, 15. — πλέθρων: cf. note 1, 2, 23.

§ 4. τῶν στρατηγῶν, depends on δαυμάζω. Gr. § 273, Rem. 20. — οὐ μή: cf. note on οὐκέτι μή 2, 2, 12. — ὁπόθεν . . . οὐκ ἔστιν, and there is no place from which we shall be able to obtain provisions on the march. The principal idea lies in the particip. as often. — κυζικηνούς: cf. note 5, 6, 23.

§ 5. ἄλλος . . . μυρίους: a remark introduced parenthetically by Xen. into the speech of Lycon. — μάλα is not unfrequently added to αὐτίκα as a strengthening particle. — καθημένους: this is the ordinary word spoken of the ἐκκλησίαι, in which they were in the habit of sitting; cf. 3, 1, 33. Hence ἀνίστασθαι denoted the breaking up of the assembly; cf. 3, 8, 1.

§ 6. εἰσι δ' οἱ: but some. Gr. § 331, Rem. 4. — οἱ δέ: i. e. Chirisophus and Xen. — ὃ, τι = τοῦτο ὃ, τι, in that which etc.; τοῦτο accus. syn. with ἀναγκάζειν.

§ 10. ἔνα Ἀθ.; the allusion is to Xen. — σφᾶς and σφῶν are reflexive and refer to the logical subject of the sentence,—the persons speaking. — ἦν: cf. note on ἦσαν 1, 4, 4.

§ 11. καθ' ἑαυτοῖς, by themselves, alone.

§ 12. ἐκ τῆς νικώσης: cf. note 6, 1, 18. — ἀφ' ἧς = ἀπὸ ταύτης §.

§ 14. *αὐτοί*: Neon and Chirisophus. — *αὐτῶν, ἱερῶν*; in this sense it may stand in this unusual position, between the article and noun (Krag.). Kühner however reads *αὐτῶν* instead of *αὐτῶν*. Gr. § 245, Rem. 4. — *αὐτῶν*: *Ξενοφῶντι*.

§ 15. *ἔτι*: *for a while*. — *τῷ ἡγεμόνι*, cf. note 4, 8, 25; also note 3, 2, 9. — *ἁπὸν καὶ ἔμεινον*: the common formula in consulting an oracle or a god. On the pleonasm, cf. note 1, 7, 8.

§ 16. *οἱ Κλεόρχου Θράκες*: see 1, 2, 9.

§ 17. *τῆς Θράκης*: Bithynia is here called Thrace, since the Bithynians were a Thracian tribe.

§ 18. *γὰρ* introduces the reason why he chose the least dangerous way.

## CHAP. III.

The largest company set out first, and having arrived at the port Calpe, march out into the territory of the Bithynians for the purpose of obtaining booty. They meet with some success at first, but are at length surrounded by superior numbers and exposed to the most imminent danger. From this situation they are relieved by Xenophon and his party; after which both repair to Calpe, where they find Chirisophus already landed.

§ 2. *Κάλη*: now called Kerpeh. — *λόχοις*: denotes here and in § 4 and 5, the ten subdivisions of the Arcadian and Achaean forces, consisting of 4500 men (cf. 6, 2, 16). Hence the generals are called § 6 *λοχαγοί*. — *ἦγον*: sc. *eis ταύτην*.

§ 3. *συνεβάλλοντο*, they agreed upon. — *ἔτε*: cf. note 4, 2, 18. — *περιεβάλλοντο*: they secured to themselves.

§ 4. *διέφενγον*: being in the imperf. it denotes like *διαφεύγοντες* what was repeated, perhaps at every village. — *τὸ συγκείμενον*: the place agreed upon, cf. § 3.

§ 5. *τέως μὲν*: cf. note 4, 2, 12. — *τρέπονται*: sc. *οἱ Θράκες*.

§ 6. *πρόγματα*: cf. note 4, 1, 17. — *ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ* is much less common than *ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*.

§ 7. *οἱ δέ*: cf. note 3, 4, 4. — *ἐπίοιεν*: sc. *οἱ Ἕλληνες*.

§ 8. *τελευτῶντες*: cf. note on *τελευτῶν* 4, 5, 16.

§ 9. *τὰ ἄλλα*: all the other things relating to a treaty except the giving of hostages. — *ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχυετο*: at this point the negotiation stopped.

§ 10. *πορευομένου*, while he was marching. The dat. of the particip. most frequently denotes the relation of time.

§ 11. *ὅτι* is here placed after a word of the clause to which it belongs, to make that word (*νῦν*) more emphatic. For the same reason, *εἰ, ἐάν*,



and other similar conjunctions are sometimes postpositive. — *πωλεισκούμεναι* . . . *εἰεν*: cf. note on *τρέφονται* . . . *ἔχουεν* 3, 5, 13.

§ 12. *πωλεισκούμεναι*: the idea of the first part of this compound is in actual use nearly lost. Cf. 4, 2, 15; also note on 4, 7, 22.

§ 14. *ὅσον*, as far as; sc. *προελθεῖν*. — *καιρὸς* . . . *δειπνοποιεῖσθαι*, so as to be favorable for enjoying the evening meal; i. e. so as to afford sufficient exercise before partaking of food. — *ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς*, keeping us in sight.

§ 15. Contains some explanatory remarks introduced parenthetically into the speech. — *εἰ* . . . *καθορῶεν*, if they should decry any thing (coming) from any quarter. — *ἔπαντα ὅτῳ*: cf. note 1, 1, 5.

§ 16. *οὐδαμοῖ*: an uncommon word, to no place, nowhere. — *πολλή*, sc. *ὁδός*. — *Χρυσόπολιν*: cf. note 6, 6, 38. — *μένουσι*: sc. *ἡμῖν*. — *δέ* after *μένουσι* corresponds to the foregoing *οὔτε*: cf. note 5, 5, 8.

§ 17. *ταῦτόν*: cf. *τῷ αὐτῷ* 1, 8, 14. On the form *ταῦτόν* instead of *ταῦτό*, see Gr. § 92, Rem. 2. — *ἔχεσθαι* with the gen. to cling to, be in earnest to secure. — *ὥς νῦν* . . . *ἔστιν*, that it is now permitted (to us), that we may now.

§ 18. *τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας* . . . *φρονοῦντας*, those who have talked proudly as if they were wiser (than we): *πλέον φρονεῖν* means to be wiser, to be more cunning; on the contrary *μέγα φρονεῖν*, to be proud. For the allusion, cf. 6, 2, 10. — *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομένους*, who begin (every enterprise) with (lit. from) the gods. — *ὥς ἔν*: cf. note 2, 5, 16.

§ 19. *ἐφ' ὅσον* . . . *εἶχεν*, as far as it was well, sc. *διασπείρεσθαι*. — *ἐπιπαρόντες*: cf. note 3, 4, 30. — *ἡ στρατιὰ*, the main army; sc. *ἔκαστε*. — *αἰθεσθαι*, to be on fire, a poetic word.

§ 21. *ἐπεὶ τάχιστα*, as soon as; cf. 3, 1, 9.

§ 22. *ἐλάνθανον* . . . *γενόμενοι*, unconsciously to themselves arrived upon the hill; or as we might say, sooner than they were aware (of it). — *ἐπωλεισκούοντο* is another of the many instances where the English idiom would require the pluperf. instead of the imperf. — *καταλειμένους*: cf. note 4, 7, 14.

§ 23. *ἀφ' ἑσπέρας*: after evening set in. *ἀπὸ* denotes the beginning of a transaction as *εἰς* denotes the termination (cf. 1, 7, 1). — *ὅπου*, sc. *σῆχοντο*.

§ 24. *εἰς* . . . *λιμένα* is used because *συμμίξαι* implies the idea to go.

§ 25. *ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ*: this clause implies something of this sort as going before, "but our conjectures were incorrect," for etc. — *ἐδόκουν*: cf. note 1, 4, 7.

§ 26. *ἐξήκεν*, had expired. — *τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν*, lit. the things with us, i. e. our situation.

## CHAP. IV.

The soldiers refuse to encamp in Calpe, a place strongly fortified by nature, lest the generals contrive to detain them there and found a city. They prefer to remain in an exposed situation on the sea-shore. Afterwards they pass a decree that no one, under penalty of death, shall again propose to divide the army. Wishing to go out on a foraging expedition, they find the omens unfavorable. Neon nevertheless goes out with 2000 men, but is attacked and defeated by the cavalry of Pharnabazus. He is rescued from complete destruction by Xenophon.

§ 1. αὐτοῦ . . . ἐπὶ: cf. note 2, 2, 1. — ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου is to be repeated in idea; *beginning with the mouth of the Euxine, extends (ἐστίν) (from it) as far as etc.* The στόμα τοῦ Πόντου is the Thracian Bosphorus; cf. 7, 1, 1. — Ἡρακλείας = Ἡρακλειώτιδος. Cf. note on ἐν τῷ . . . Πόντῳ 4, 8, 22. — εἰσπλέουσι: cf. note on ποιοῦσι 3, 2, 22.

§ 2. τριήρει . . . κέπαις, *to a galley with oars.* Not an unusual mode of denoting geographical distances among the Greeks. Cf. Thucyd. 2, 97. — ἡμέρας . . . πλεῖς: *a very long day's voyage.* The distance was 750 stadia. — ἀλλὰ: cf. note 3, 2, 13. — ἐκπίπτειν: *to suffer shipwreck.* Cf. 7, 5, 12 and 13. — δευῶ: is explained like τὰ ἔσχατα 3, 1, 13. — τοὺς Ἕλληνας: cf. note on ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χώρα 3, 2, 23.

§ 3. πλεόντων: *of (persons) sailing.* No subject is expressed because no definite subject is thought of. — ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκειμένων: a constructio praegnans for προτίνειν (extending) εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ὥστε κῆσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ. (Hert.) — μάλιστα: cf. note 5, 4, 12.

§ 4. αὐτῇ: cf. note on αὐτοῦ 3, 4, 41. — τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν: *towards the west, on the west side.* The expression is called adverbial by Küh. See Gr. § 279, Rom. 10. — ἔφθορας is taken as predicate with ρέουσα, taking the place of an adverb. Cf. Thucyd. 2, 5. ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπὸς ἐρρήνι μέγας.

§ 5. ἐν τῷ λιμένι: *at the harbor.* Cf. note 4, 8, 22.

§ 7. τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γινόμενον, i. e. τὸ χωρίον ὃ πόλισμα ἂν ἐγένετο, *the place (cf. § 14, 21,) which might become a citadel.* — στρατοπεδεύεσθαι εἰς, *to go and encamp in etc.*

§ 8. γὰρ assigns the reason for the sentence at the end of the section, τοιοῦτοι . . . σώζεσθαι. Cf. note 3, 2, 29. — βίου, *means of subsistence.* — μισθοφορᾶν, *expeditionem* (Sturz). — ἀκούοντες, *because they heard of,* connected by ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐν σπᾶναι βίου. — καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγνορες: cf. note on καὶ τὸ στρ. 1, 9, 31. — καλλὰ καὶ: καὶ unites also adjectives, the first of which we are accustomed to join adverbially to the second. This occurs most frequently with πολλὰ. Krüg. Spr. 69, 32, 3. Hence we may

render πολλά καὶ ἀγαθὰ πρῶτα, *did* (or *fored*) *extremely well*; i. e. *acquired a fortune*.

§ 9. τῆς . . . συνόδου is governed by the comparative ὁστέρα: *later than* = *after their arrival*. — πεμπταῖοι: cf. note on σκοταῖοι 2, 2, 17. — τοὺς ἐκ.: cf. note on τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως 1, 1, 5. — ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: *according to their means*. Cf. ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν 4, 2, 23. — οὗς . . . αὐτοῖς: cf. note on ὅν 1, 9, 29.

§ 11. τοῦ λοιποῦ: cf. note 5, 7, 34. — μνησθῆναι: cf. L. & S. μμνήσκω—2. *to mention*. — κατὰ χώραν, *in their respective places*. — ἦπερ εἶχε: cf. note 2, 2, 21. — τὰ ἐκεῖνου, *his place*; cf. 5, 6, 86.

§ 12. τὴν πορείαν, governed by ποιητέον. — εἰ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε: *lit. if at any other time also*; i. e. *now if ever*. Cf. ὅς τις καὶ ἄλλος 1, 3, 15.

§ 13. ὁ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἄμ. Inasmuch as Silanus is already known to the reader, the article can be prefixed, although an apposition with the article immediately follows. — ἀποθεδράκει: cf. 6, 2, 15. — ἐγίνετο: cf. note 2, 2, 3.

§ 14. οἰκίσαι, from οἰκίζω. Observe the difference between this word and οἰκέω.

§ 15. τῇ αἰρίῳ, sc. ἡμέρᾳ. — τὸν βουλόμενον: cf. note 1, 3, 9.

§ 16. εἰς τρίτις: *even to a third time*; cf. § 19 below.

§ 18. ἔρα: cf. note 2, 2, 3. — ὅς or ὅτι should properly be omitted. (Krüg.) The fact that both are introduced is explained on the ground that two different constructions are united in one sentence.—ὅς γὰρ ἔγὼ ἤκουσα μέλλει, and ἔγὼ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι μέλλει. Our idiom requires that we should adopt one or the other of these latter constructions in translating, for we cannot combine both. — The clause ἀπὸ τοῦ . . . ἤκουσά τινας may be rendered, *I heard by a certain person from the boat that arrived accidentally yesterday etc.*; or ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου may be taken adverbially = *αὐτομάτως*, and ἤκοντες πλοίου would then be gen. absolute. — ὁ ἐκ Βυζ. ἔρμ. Cf. note 1, 2, 3.

§ 19. οὐκ ἔφη: cf. note 1, 3, 1. — For the force of μή with the particip. see Gr. § 318, 5.

§ 20. σχεδόν τι, *nearly*; τι is often joined thus to σχεδόν and πόθεν, modifying them and rendering them less positive. — ἐκυκλοῦντο, in the plural, because the subject is collective. Cf. κόπτοντες 2, 1, 6.

§ 21. ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χ.; cf. § 3 and 4, and 7. — ὅς εἰς: cf. note 1, 3, 1. — προχωροῖν: *might be favorable*. The word προχωρεῖν is not uncommon in this sense; cf. L. & S.

§ 22. θέον: accus. aba.; cf. note 2, 5, 22. — ὑπὸ ἀμάξης: *lit. from under a wagon*, or as we should say, *from under the yoke*. For the force of ὑπό with the gen., cf. Gr. § 299, 1. — προθυμεισθαι, *to interest himself in the matter*, i. e. *to undertake the management of the sacrifices*. — εἰ,

(to ascertain) *whether*; *τι ἐν τούτοις εἴη*, *there might be any thing in this*; i. e. to ascertain whether the sacrifices would be more favorable if another should preside over them instead of Xen. — *ἐγένετο*: sc. τὰ *λεπτά*.

§ 23. τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὥς: cf. note τῶν βαρβάρων . . . ὥς, 1, 1, 5. — ὥς ἡγεμόνος ἑσομένου, *as if (promising that) there would be a guide*; viz. the Heracleote. — *δορατίοις*: cf. note 5, 2, 4. — *εἰς δισχι. ἀνθ.*, cf. note 5, 2, 4.

§ 24. ὥς ἐπὶ: cf. note 4, 3, 11. — *Φαρναβάζου*: the Persian satrap of lesser Phrygia. — *πρῶτοι*: the Greeks were afterwards attacked by the Bithynians § 26. — *μὴ ἐλθεῖν*, *from coming*; on this use of *μὴ*, cf. note 1, 3, 2; but also 2, 3, 9. — *μείον*: cf. note on *πλέον* 1, 2, 11. After *μείον*, *πλέον*, and *ἐλαττον*, *ἥ* is often omitted before the numeral. Cf. 7, 1, 27. (Hert.) — *τὸ ὅρος*: cf. note on τοῦ ὅρου 3, 4, 24.

§ 26. καὶ ἥδη μὲν: it is conjectured that *τε* should stand instead of *μὲν*. Cf. note 1, 8, 1. — *μέχρι εἰς*: cf. note 4, 5, 6.

## CHAP. V.

The Greeks, alarmed by the dangers that surround them, consent to encamp in Calpe. As soon as the omens become favorable, Xenophon leads forth the army, and the barbarians are vanquished.

§ 2. *ἐπρεσβεία* is commonly explained as = *ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ*: Hert. following Schneider thinks the true reading may be *ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ*.

§ 4. τοῦτον: *this one* with his soldiers. — *ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ*: an uncommon construction instead of *στρατοπέδῳ*, *at the encampment*. The Greek article is omitted as often happens in designations of place (*πόλις*, *ἔστυ*, *ἀγρός* etc.), especially when joined with prepositions.

§ 5. τοῦ κέρατος, *of the army marching in column*. — *ποιησάμενοι παρὰ*, *having placed . . . near*. — *ὅσους . . . τὸ κέρας*, *as many as the army had within its reach, as many as the army extended over*.

§ 7. *ἡμέρας* is gen. aba. with *μεσοβύσης*, and *πέρα* is an adv.; we may render the clause, *after the middle of the day*. — *δ, τι* refers to *ἐπιτήδεια* as in 4, 1, 9; cf. note 1, 1, 5. — *ἐντός*: cf. note 1, 10, 3. — *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπαιτίου*: cf. note on *ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου*, 1, 8, 23.

§ 8. ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου: cf. note 4, 3, 9.

§ 9. λόχους φύλακας: *reserve companies*; *φύλακας* has the same grammatical construction as *ἐπισθοφύλαξιν* 4, 1, 6.

§ 10. τὴν, sc. *ὁδόν*, *in the way towards* etc.; cf. note 2, 2, 10. — *ἥξω*: cf. note 2, 1, 9. — τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους, *the reserve companies mentioned* § 9.

§ 11. *φονχοί*: this adjct. is seldom so used. Hert. cites *Cyrop.* 5, 3, 55. *φονχῶ* is far more common. — *ἀπὸ* has here the distributive meaning; cf. 3, 4, 21. — *τὴν μὲν*, sc. *τάξιν*. — *ἐπὶ τὸ δέξιον ἐπ' ἄρ' ἄρ' αὖ*, directed towards the right. — *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολείποντας*, so as to follow leaving left an interval of etc.; *ἀπολείποντας*, cf. note on *κόπτοντες* 2, 1, 6. — *τὴν δὲ μίαν*, but the remaining one.

§ 12. *τὸ νέος*: on the repetition of this noun instead of a pronoun, cf. note 3, 2, 23. — *στρατηγός*: cf. note on *στρατηγὸς* 3, 5, 7. — *ἡγομένους*: cf. note 2, 2, 4.

§ 13. *ὅτι . . . εἴη*, that it was not worth the while to consider; i. e. it was clear without further deliberation that they ought not to do it.

§ 14. *ἐθελούσης* belongs to *με*. Cf. note 2, 1, 16. — *εἰς ἀνδρείτητα* is to be connected closely with *δόξης*, reputation for bravery; cf. note 2, 6, 30.

§ 15. *προβαλλομένους*: cf. note on *προβαλλέσθαι τὰ ἔπλα* 1, 2, 17. The opposite in meaning is *μεταβαλλομένους*.

§ 17. *τούτους . . . αὐτούς*: cf. note on *βασίλει . . . αὐτὸν* 2, 4, 7. — *δέξασθαι*: cf. note on *συνῆμα* 2, 1, 19. — *ἐπιδόντων*, sc. *ἡμῶν*; cf. note on *ἰόντων* 1, 4, 12.

§ 18. *χαλεπὸν*, difficult to pass; as in 4, 8, 2, and 5, 1, 17. — *ἂρ' οὐχὶ . . . ἔξιν*, is it not worth the while even to seize hastily the opportunity (instead of avoiding it)? — *ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου διδάσκεισθαι*, to take occasion from the place to become convinced. *Ἀπὸ* denotes with pass. verbs the occasion for an action; *ἐκ* denotes the action as being accomplished. (Hert.)

§ 19. *πῶς δέ*: sc. *διαβατὰ ἔσται*. — *ἂ . . . ἔρη* for *τὰ ἔρη* ἂ.

§ 20. *δεήσει δέ, κ.τ.λ.*, but if we arrive there the sooner, it will be necessary the sooner etc.

§ 21. *ἰερά* and *σφάγια*: cf. note 1, 8, 15. — *ἵμεν*: for a similar asyndeton, cf. *φόνῃ* 3, 1, 24.

§ 22. *ἐκέλευεν*, sc. *ἡγεμόντα*. — *καὶ ὅς*: cf. note 1, 8, 16. — *τῷ νέους* depends on *ῖ*. — *ἂν* belongs to *γενέσθαι*. Cf. 5, 6, 1. — *ἢ εἰ . . . ἐξεμυρόντο*, than if they defiled over the bridge etc.

§ 23. *ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις*: cf. note 2, 4, 4.

§ 24. *ἡγεμόνι* is a predicate: *Hercules as leader*. — *ἡδὲ* is predicated of the whole sentence, it is pleasant etc. — *ἀνδρείῳν τι καὶ καλόν*: the object of *εἰπόντα* and *ποίησαντα*. — *μνήμην . . . ἑαυτοῦ*, to occasion a remembrance of himself (among those) among whom one wishes (to be remembered). Supply *τις* with *ἐθέλει*.

§ 25. *παρηγγέλλετο*: impera. orders were given. — *ἐπὶ τὸν . . . ἔχων*: a verb of rest accompanied with a construction implying motion: *that* (having placed) *their spears on the right shoulder they should hold* (them

there). Cf. note on *παρήσαν* *eis* 1, 2, 2. — *σημαίνει*: cf. note on *ἐσάλη-πρυγε* 1, 2, 17. — *καθέντας*; sc. τὰ δόρατα, *having lowered their spears*; i. e. *having taken them from their shoulders where they rested*; cf. § 27. — *σύνθημα*: without the article because it is predicate. — *παρήει*: *passed along* (the ranks); cf. 1, 8, 16. — *καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον* = *καλὸν εἶναι τὸ χωρίον ὃ ἔχοιεν*.

§ 26. οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτ.: cf. note on Ἕλληνων 3, 4, 26.

§ 28. ὡς ὀλίγοι ὄντες: *considering that they were few*, i. e. *with their small number*; about forty horsemen; cf. 6, 2, 16. — *καθ' ὃ*: *opposite which*. — *ἄτε*: cf. note 4, 2, 18.

§ 29. ἥδη: *at once*; often used in this sense, cf. 1, 3, 11; 3, 1, 46.

§ 30. ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δέ: lit. *they had become weary, but still etc.* It would be more natural for us to say, *although they had become weary, still etc.* — ὡς . . . ἀναπαύσαιντο, *that* (the enemy) *might not recover confidence by rest*.

§ 31. ὃ does not, says Krüg., refer to *πάντες*, but to the whole clause, *which fact*. — *διόκορτες*: the particip. is used because *προσπεπρωμένοι* = *ἐκπύοντες*.

§ 32. ἐνθα: cf. note 4, 1, 2.

## CHAP. VI.

The Greeks obtain much booty from the country of the Bithynians. Meanwhile Cleander the Spartan governor of Byzantium arrives in company with Dexippus, by whom he had been greatly prejudiced against the army. This prejudice is removed by Xenophon. The command of the army being offered to Cleander, he declines it, as the omens are not favorable. The army marches under its former commanders through Bithynia, and arrives with much plunder at Chrysopolis.

§ 1. εἶχον ἀμφί: cf. note 5, 2, 26. — *πυρρός . . . σῦκα*: on the asyndeton, cf. note 2, 4, 28.

§ 2. ἐλάβανον: *held possession of that which they took*; as the connection indicates that it means.

§ 3. ἀφικνεῖντο: predicated of inanimate objects; cf. *ἡλθον* 4, 8, 24. — *ἔσμενοι*: cf. note 2, 1, 16.

§ 4. παλίσιν: not used elsewhere by Attic writers; found in Hom., Herod., and later writers. — *δέοι* is as usual imper. and the remainder of the clause *ὃ, τι . . . εἶναι* is the logical subj. of *δέοι*. We may render thus, *what they must do to be friends*. — *ἐπεδείκνυν*, *showed, presented*; to convince the army how important the new city might become.

§ 5. Κλέωνρος: cf. 6, 4, 18. — *καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν . . . εἰς τὸ ὄρος*: thus

interpreted by Kühner, *and some (happened) to have gone for booty (in the plain); others in another direction to the mountain*; with οἰχόμενοι supply from the foregoing ἐτόγγων; and as it is evident from the foregoing narrative that the Greeks had plundered chiefly the level country; so the writer adds ἄλλοι ἄλλῃ εἰς τὸ ὕψος (sc. ἐπὶ λείαν οἰχόμενοι ἐτόγγων). — τὸ ὕψος: on the article, cf. note 8, 4, 24. — Δεξιππῶ: cf. 5, 1, 15.

§ 7. ἀποκαλοῦντες is frequentative in meaning. The common word, used to denote an opprobrious epithet, is ἀποκαλεῖν. — τὸν προδότην: not simply a traitor, but emphatically *the traitor*.

§ 8. ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα, *that it was a matter of no importance*. — ταῦτα γενέσθαι depends on αἴτιον after the analogy of the expression αἰτίας τι (cf. § 15); *the occasion of these things taking place*.

§ 9. ὅς, *on the ground that they were*, sc. ὄντας.

§ 11. διὰ τέλους: *always, constantly*. — ἐξ οὗ: *in consequence of which*, i. e. because he was a constant friend of Xen. — διέβαλεν αὐτόν, *calumniated him*; reported to Cleander that Agasias was the person who commenced casting stones. — παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιούντο, *made light of*; παρ' ὀλίγον, means properly *by the side of* i. e. *like a small affair*.

§ 12. ἐμοὶ δέ: cf. note 4, 6, 10. — εἰς ἕκαστος is in apposition with the implied subject of εἰσί, i. e. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Cf. note on ἐκδότη 1, 7, 15.

§ 14. ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, alluding to Agasias. — ἀπέχεσθαι, *should be kept away*.

§ 15. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν is repeated on account of the parenthetical clause. — τι, *in any respect*, modifies αἴτιον.

§ 16. αὐτὸν παρᾶσχειν κρίναι: cf. note on παρέχοντες 2, 3, 22. — ἀντὶ δέ: we cannot translate δέ here; it is used because this clause is an antithesis to the preceding οἰόμενοι . . . τεύξεσθαι. — οὐδ' ὅμοιοι instead of μηδ' ὅμ. because the negative does not belong to the whole clause, but to the particular word which it precedes. — εἰρξόμεθα has a pass. meaning.

§ 17. ὁμολογῶ is independent in gram. construction: cf. note 5, 8, 10.

§ 18. μὴ ἐκδῶτε: for the use of μὴ in prohibitions, see Gr. § 259, 5. — ὁμῶν αὐτῶν depends on οἴτινες, *having chosen from yourselves* (persons) *who* etc.

§ 20. ἐκέλευσέ σε . . . κρίναντά σε αὐτόν: a repetition of the personal pronoun after an intervening clause is not uncommon: *exhorted you . . . that having yourself placed us on trial you should use us as you please* etc.

§ 22. Δέξιππον . . . αἰρεθέρτα, *and I know that Desippus was chosen* etc.; acc. and particip. Gr. § 810, 4. The remaining participles of this sentence are in the same construction and consequently to be rendered as finite

verbs. — *ἡγησάμεθα*: cf. note 5, 1, 11. — *ἐφ' ᾧ*: cf. note 4, 2, 19.

§ 23. τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, *as far as depended on this person*. — ἀπολόλαμεν expresses the fact more positively than ἀπολόλαμεν ἂν. — ὥστερ ἡμεῖς: it was not however till after the flight of Dexippus that they first learned this fact; cf. 5, 6, 9. — τοῦτον . . . ὄντα refers to Dexippus, and another accus. (τὸν ἄνδρα) is understood as the immediate object of ἀφειλόμεν.

§ 24. ἤγες, *had been conducting* (him away). — τῶν . . . ἀποθρόνων, sc. τῆς. — νόμιζε commonly takes the infin., but here like εἰς τοῦ: it takes the particip. : *consider that you put to death etc.*

§ 25. ἀξιοῦτε: sc. κριθέντες τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. — τῆς δίκης: cf. note 1, 3, 20.

§ 26. τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, i. e. Agasias.

§ 27. ἔγχεσθαι, *in being led away*. Supply after this, the idea, *be assured*.

§ 28. τὸ μέρος, *his part*. — τοῖς λησταῖς: cf. § 5 above. — βήτην: a Laconian word for *law*, or *decree*.

§ 30. πείψαντας: cf. note on λαβόντα 1, 2, 1. — Δρακόντιον: mentioned 4, 8, 25.

§ 31. ἐφείτο: *submitted* (it) *to you*. — ἐβόλου, instead of βούλει, is assimilated to the tense of ἐφείτο. — αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται: the urgency of the entreaty is more fully denoted by the use of both words.

§ 33. παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν, *having come and being commander of themselves etc.*

§ 34. καὶ τὰ σιῶ is Laconian instead of καὶ τὰ θεά: *by the twin gods*. — παραδιδῶσιν, *sanction* (it) by favorable omens — ἄντιοι ἤ: cf. note on τὰναντία ἤ 5, 8, 24. — ἐνίων is in apposition with ὑμῶν.

§ 36. οὐκ ἐτελέσθη τὰ ἱερὰ seems to be Laconian for οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τ. ἰ. — ἐκείσε: eis Βυζάντιον.

§ 38. οὐδενί is neuter: *no booty*. — τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστροφάωντες: cf. note 4, 3, 32. — ἐκταῖοι: cf. note 5, 3, 2. — Χρυσόπαλις: now called Uskudar (Scutari); the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople.



## BOOK SEVENTH.

The remaining movements of the army till they are placed under the command of Thimbron.

## CHAP. I.

The Spartan admiral Anaxibius, influenced by Pharnabazus, persuades the Greeks by false promises of pay to cross over to Byzantium. Again by false promises he induces them to evacuate the city. Exasperated by such treatment, they rush back into the city by force and are on the point of further violence; but being appeased by Xenophon, they leave the city a second time. Coeratades a Theban makes proposals to the army to which they accede, but being unable to fulfil his promises, he voluntarily relinquishes the command.

§ 1. *ἔπραξαν* and *ἐποιοῦν* are used here without any important difference of meaning. — *ἔξω τοῦ στόματος*, sc. τοῦ Πόρτου: *ἔξω* is used with reference to the place where the army had been; taking Greece as the point of observation, it would have been *εἰσω*.

§ 2. *φοβούμενος τὸ στρατεύμα μὴ* = *φοβούμενος μὴ τὸ στρ.*, cf. note 1, 1, 5. — *ἴδαι*, sc. *κοιτῶν Φαρνάβαζον*.

§ 4. *συνδιαβάντα*, sc. *τῷ στρατεύματι*. — *ἔπειτα οὕτως*: *afterwards thus*; *ἔπειτα*, as also *οὕτως*, is not unfrequently used after a particip. ; but both together can scarcely be used thus. (Hert.)

§ 5. *Χεῖρης*: cf. 7, 2, 32. — *ἔφη . . . ὅτι*: the particle *ὅτι* after *φάναι* is very rare; *φάναι* comm. takes the accus. with the infin. ; on the position of *ὅτι*, cf. note 6, 3, 11.

§ 6. *ἀλλά*: cf. note 1, 7, 6. — *τελείτω*: sc. *Χεῖρης*. — *ἐπικαίρους*, spoken of persons it means *influential, the chief persons*, referring here to the generals.

§ 7. *ἐπιστρίψουσαι*, in order to purchase provisions, with which to etc. Cf. *κομίξω* 4, 5, 22.

§ 8. *ἔνους γεγενημένους*: cf. 6, 6, 35. — *μὴ ποτέ*: cf. note 6, 6, 18. — *εἰ δὲ μὴ*: cf. note 4, 3, 6. — *ἐξέρπει* in the Laconian dialect = *ἐξέρχεται*. (Hert.)

§ 10. *πορευόμενον*: cf. note on *λαβόντα* 1, 2, 1.

§ 11. *ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται*: that he himself might blame himself for the consequences of not being present at the military review.

§ 12. *Ἐρεδικος*: a prominent Lacedaemonian who figured in the Peloponnesian war. Thucyd. 8, 23; Xen. Hell. 1, 6, 26, and often.

§ 13. τὰλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: *the other things the provisions*, i. e. *the other means of subsistence*; τὰ ἐπιτήδεια being in apposition with τὰλλα. — Κυνύσκιος: a Lacedaemonian as appears from 7, 2, 2 and 15.

§ 14. διαγγέλλει agrees in form with the nearest subject, but belongs also in idea to the more remote τινές. — ἱερὸν ὄρος: a mountain, which as appears from this passage and from 7, 8, 8, lay on the way from Byzantium or Perinthus to the Cherronesus. — κύκλῳ: *by a circuitous route*; cf. 4, 2, 5.

§ 15. διελέγοντο: sc. οἱ στρατηγοί. — ὡς εἰσόντες, *as if with the intention* etc.; cf. note on λέγει 1, 3, 1. § 17, τὴν χηλὴν: *the breakwater*. The stones which were cast up in front of the wall on the side towards the sea, to prevent the violence of the waves from doing injury to the wall, were called χηλή. (Scholiast on Thucyd. 1, 63, cited by Hert.) — ταῖς ἀξίναῖς: these and other similar implements were carried with the army on wagons or beasts of burden. (Hert.) — τὰ κλειῖθρα, *the fastenings, the bars*, seems here to denote the same thing as τὸν μοχλὸν above. Commonly τὰ κλειῖθρα is thought to denote the vertical bolts at the base of doors or gates; and ὁ μοχλός the horizontal bar extending across them. Cf. Dic. Antiqq.

§ 19. ἔνδον, *within doors, in their houses*. — ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι: one would expect here ἐν αὐταῖς. For similar repetitions, cf. note 3, 2, 28.

§ 20. τὴν ἑκραν = τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

§ 21. ἀνδρί: used emphatically as we often use the corresponding Eng. word. — ἔχεις . . . ἔχεις: cf. note on οὐαῖς . . . οὐαῖς 3, 1, 37.

§ 22. βουλόμενός αὐτοὺς κατατρεμίσαι is closely joined with ἀπεκρίνατο.

§ 23. εἰς ὀκτώ: *eight men deep*. This appears to have been at that time the ordinary depth of the line for heavy-armed men. (Rüstow u. Köchly Gesch. d. gr. Kriegsw. S. 118. cited by Hert.)

§ 24. οἶον qualifies the following superlative, in the same manner as ὡς and ὅτι. — καλούμενον: cf. note on καλουμένη 1, 2, 18. — ἔκετο: cf. note on κείσθαι 4, 2, 20. — συγκαλεῖ: so that they should form a ring around him.

§ 25. οὐδέν is constructed like τι 6, 6, 15. — ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν: *what will be from thence*, i. e. *what will be the consequences*.

§ 26. πολέμοι μὲν: one would expect here γάρ epexegetic. — τὰ νῦν δὴ γεγενημένα: *the things which have even now taken place*; referring to the Peloponnesian war, which ended four years previous to this time, i. e. in 404 B. C.

§ 27. παρῶντων δέ: cf. note on καὶ 1, 10, 6. — ἐν τῇ πόλει: Thucyd. in speaking of the same thing says ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, the Acropolis being the place where the treasures of the city were preserved. —

τὰ ἐνδῆμα denotes the domestic products on which duties were laid. — ἡ ὑπερορία : foreign lands. The tribute from the Athenian allies according to Thucyd. 2, 13. amounted at the beginning of the Pelopon. war to 600 talents.

§ 28. ἔν before εἰδμεθα belongs to παθεῖν. Cf. ἔν 5, 6, 1. — ἄνω : cf. note 1, 2, 1. — δοντι : cf. note 2, 5, 12.

§ 29. τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις = τοῖς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φίλοις. — καὶ δικαίως is predicated most naturally of the nearest word στρατευομέναις. — καὶ ταῦτα : cf. note 1, 4, 12. — οὐδεμίαν stands after εἰ, because in its strict hypothetical meaning this particle belongs only to the clause Ἑλληνίδα δὲ κ.τ.λ.; while the first clause βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν κ.τ.λ., expresses a fixed fact, in reference to which εἰ = ἐπεὶ. (Hert.) — ἐξαλαπάξω is poetic.

§ 30. ἐπιθεῖν : cf. note 3, 1, 13. — ἐμέ, the subj. of γενέσθαι denoting the same person as the subj. of εἶχομαι, would not by the general rule be expressed (Gr. § 310, 3); hence a special emphasis is imparted to the word by expressing it in so unusual a connection (Gr. § 310, Rem. 1). — Ἑλληνας ὄντας : cf. note on λαβόντα 1, 2, 1.

§ 31. πέμφοντας : cf. note 2, 3, 1. — οὔτι : cf. note 1, 6, 7. — ἀλλ' ἦν . . . εὐρίσκεισθαι : supply mentally εὐρησόμενοι. — ἀλλά : still, yet ; cf. 3, 2, 8.

§ 33. καθήμενων : cf. note 6, 2, 5. — φεύγων : cf. note 1, 1, 7 ; τὴν Ἑλλάδα is considered by Krüg. and Küh. as dependent on περιήγει. — καὶ τότε : cf. note 4, 3, 11. — Δέλτα : the triangular peninsula of Thrace in the neighborhood of the Bosphorus, and northward from Byzantium ; cf. 7, 5, 1. — μόλωσιν : a poetic word (from βλώσκει). — εἰς ἀφθονίαν = ἀφθόνως. Cf. note 4, 7, 8.

§ 34. ἀκούουσι . . . τοῖς στρατιώταις stands as though § 35 began with ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι, ἀπελθεῖν. The anacoluthon is occasioned by the parenthetical clause ἀπεκρίνωτο κ.τ.λ. — τέλεσι : cf. note 2, 6, 4. — ἀπαγγελεῖ, βουλεύονται : observe the change of mood and tense ; cf. note 2, 2, 15.

§ 35. εἰς τὴν : cf. note 1, 7, 1.

§ 36. πεπράσμαι : used as simple fut. pass. instead of πρᾶθῃσμαι, which is not Attic.

§ 37. ἐλαιῶν τρεῖς : in full τρεῖς φέροντες ἐλαιῶν φορτίον ὅσον μέγιστον ἔδυναντο. — ὥς ἐπὶ : cf. note 4, 3, 11.

§ 39. λέγειν : a transition to the oratio obliqua. — ἐκέλευεν : sc. Ἀναξίβιος.

§ 41. πολλῶν (sc. ἐπιτηδείων) ἐνέδει αὐτῷ : and when he lacked much provision etc.

## CHAP. II.

Many of the soldiers now leave the army, and a considerable number are sold as slaves by Aristarchus who had succeeded Cleander as governor of Byzantium. The army wishes to return to Asia, but is prevented by Aristarchus, who also attempts to get Xenophon into his power. Xenophon is thus induced to repair by night to the Thracian chief Sentes and ascertain on what terms he will take the army into his service.

§ 1. The persons here mentioned are first spoken of as commanders in 3, 1, 47. Phryniscus alone has not been before mentioned. That he was a general appears partly from the way in which his name is here introduced; partly from § 29 and from 7, 5, 4 and 10. It is surprising that the name of Cleanor is not mentioned with the others.

§ 2. *ταῦτα ἐβόλουντο*: wished the same things, i. e. to cross over into Asia; cf. 7, 6, 12.

§ 3. *ἀποδιδόμενοι*, selling. — *κατὰ τοὺς χώρους*: in the country, in the villages.

§ 4. *διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα* is explanatory of *ταῦτα*.

§ 5. *διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ*: successor of Cleander. — *ὅσον οὐ*: almost.

§ 6. *ἀναγκάζων οἰκίᾳ δέχεσθαι*: compelling (the inhabitants) to receive them into their houses; *οἰκίᾳ* in the singular is predicated of many persons by an idiom not uncommon in our language. Cf. *γνώμην* 1, 7, 8; *κλίμακος* 4, 5, 25; *ζώνην* 4, 7, 16; *παλτόν* 5, 4, 12.

§ 7. *Πάριον*: a city in Mysia on the Propontis eastward from Lampascus. — *κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα*: cf. 7, 1, 2. It is probable that money had been promised and that he now demanded it.

§ 8. *Ξενοφῶντα*: it seems that he had accompanied Anaxibius, as proposed 7, 1, 39. — *πάνη τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ*: cf. note 4, 5, 16. — *Πέρινον*: a city in Thrace on the Propontis, afterwards called Heraclea, now called Eregli. — *τοῖς*, with the requisite etc. — *ἐν τῷ στράτευσματι*: which according to § 28 was at Selymbria.

§ 10. *ὑποσχόμενος . . . πείσειν*: promising him that in saying which he thought he should persuade (him); cf. § 25.

§ 11. *ἀποσπᾶσας*, sc. *τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ*, which is implied in the connection.

§ 12. *ἀπεῖπε μή*: for the use of *μή*, cf. note 1, 3, 2.

§ 13. *οὕτως*: cf. note 1, 6, 7. — *τοῖσιν*: therefore, to prove to you that I have a right thus to act. Cf. note 5, 1, 2. — *εἰς*: in this place. He was Harmost in Perinthus as well as in Byzantium; cf. 7, 6, 24.

§ 14. *προπέμπεται*: sends them forward away from himself, i. e. to Perinthus. — *αὐτὸς* belongs to *βόλουντο*.

§ 15. τοῦ καλίσσαντος refers to Aristarchus. — ἔβη: ἐν Χερρονήσῳ. — τῷ ἐκεῖ ἄρμ.: τῷ Κυρίσκῳ 7, 1, 18. — ἀνάγκη: sc. ἦν.

§ 16. ἦκοντες: cf. note 2, 1, 9.

§ 17. ἵκναι: cf. note 2, 2, 8. — Νέωνες: he had withdrawn from the army (§ 11).

§ 18. ἐρήμοις: having no sentinels near them.

§ 19. εἰ: sc. εἴη.

§ 20. ἀναπεδήσαντες: sc. ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποις. — ἐδίωκον: they hastened away to tell Seuthes.

§ 21. ἐγκεχαλιωμένοις: with bridled (horses). Cf. note on αἰξί 4, 6, 17.

§ 22. Τήρης: perhaps the same whom Thucyd. mentions (2, 29) as the father of Sitalcea, and as the one who made the kingdom of the Odrysae more powerful than all the rest of Thrace. — ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν: by these men, i. e. by the men dwelling in this region. — μάλιστα νυκτός: especially by night.

§ 23. μὲν πρῶτον instead of the usual order πρῶτον μὲν; cf. note 1, 9, 5. — κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον belongs simply to κέρατα, not to προθύπων; since the drinking to one another's health was also a Grecian custom.

§ 24. ἔπεμφας: 7, 1, 5.

§ 25. αἰθῆς: § 10. — τὰ . . . χωρία: more definitely mentioned 7, 5, 8.

~§ 26. ἴθι νῦν: the more poetic form νῦν (instead of νῦν) occurs in prose particularly after imperatives. — ἔφη: sc. Ξενοφῶν.

§ 27. Connect αὐτός with ἀπέναι. Cf. 4, 1, 24.

§ 28. τί γάρ: Krüg. suggests that δέ should perhaps stand instead of γάρ, since this clause stands in no causal relation to the foregoing. Hert. approves of the suggestion. — ἔφη: sc. Ξενοφῶν. — Σηλυμβρίαν. a city on the Propontis between Byzantium and Perinthus, now called Saliwri. — κατὰ, in the neighborhood of: — διαβαίνειν: sc. χρῆναι, which is suggested by the opposite expression οὐκ . . . οἶόν τε εἶναι. This species of brachyology is common in Greek, see Gr. § 346, 2, c.

§ 30. τὰ ἔπλα is the object of καταλιπεῖν.

§ 31. συγγενεῖς: kinsmen; according to an ancient myth. — δ, τι is to be connected with χρῆσθαι. Cf. note 1, 3, 18.

§ 32. ἦν agrees with the predicate ἀρχή. — νοσεῖν is not unfrequently predicated of the affairs of a state. — ἐκπεσόν: being driven into exile; cf. note 1, 1, 7. — βασιλεῖ: τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν.

§ 33. ἐνδιφριος = δημοστράτεος, as in § 38. — δοῦναι depends on ἐκαθεζόμεν ἱκέτης, I sat down as a suppliant.

§ 36. τῷ στρατῶντι: cf. note 1, 3, 21. — Κυζικηνόν: sc. τοῦ μηδός; cf. note 5, 6, 28. — διμαίριαν: cf. note 7, 2, 10.

§ 37. *ταῦτα περὶφέρειν*, sc. *διαπράττειν*, i. e. to conduct the army to Seuthæ. — *τὴν σευθηῶ, sc. χώραν*.

§ 38. *καὶ . . . γε*: cf. note 3, 2, 24. — *Θρακίῳ νόμῳ*. Herod. 5, 6, says of the Thracians, "they purchase their wives of the parents at a great price." — *Βισδύθην*: a city on the European side of the Propontis (cf. 7, 5, 8), afterwards called Rhaedestus, now called Rodosto.

## CHAP. III.

The offers of Seuthæ are reported to the army and accepted by all but Neon and his men. Seuthæ entertains the generals in Thracian style. Having deliberated with the Greeks respecting future operations, he leads them against his enemies and obtains much booty.

§ 1. *δεξιὰς*: cf. note 2, 4, 1.

§ 2. *ἐάσαι*: to neglect, to disregard.

§ 3. *ἐξανατήσασθαι* has a pass. signification. Notice also the change of subject with the infinitives *πυλῆσαι*, *ἐξανατήσασθαι*, *λῆψασθαι*, and *περιόψασθαι*. It is plain that Xen. did not intend to conciliate the army towards Aristarchus, as there is a manifest bitterness in his language.

§ 4. *ἐκείνῳ*: cf. note 1, 2, 15. — *τοῦτο*: respecting this, i. e. the question whether to obey Aristarchus, or to go to Seuthæ. — *ἐπαιεθόντες*: to the villages mentioned 7, 2, 1.

§ 5. *ἐῶσι*: *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*. — *αἱ ἡττοὺς* denotes the Thracian villages. — *τις*: the reference is to Aristarchus and Seuthæ.

§ 6. *ἀνέπειπεν*: cf. note 3, 2, 9.

§ 7. *ἐπειθον*: tried to persuade; cf. note on *ἐβούλετο* 1, 3, 1. — *ἐτι*: qualifies the superlative *πλείστον*.

§ 8. *τῶν τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου*: *τῶν* is neuter; if it were masculine, it would be *τῶν παρὰ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

§ 9. *ἀδράς*: cf. note 4, 8, 11. — *ἕσον*: cf. note 6, 3, 14.

§ 10. *τὰ νομιζόμενα*: that which is customary, i. e. twice as much to the captains and four times as much to the generals, as he paid to the soldiers. Cf. 7, 2, 36.

§ 13. *ὅταν ἀγαθὰν ποσότητην*: when there were so many good things (particularly, provisions) (with Seuthæ). Krüg. would prefer *ἐχθρῶν* instead of *ἀγαθῶν*: when there were so many enemies (around them). — *εὐρημα*: cf. note 2, 8, 18.

§ 14. *ἀντιλέγει*: has any thing to say in opposition. — *ἐπαληθεύει*: sc. *τις*, which with such imperatives is sometimes omitted. Cf. *προσενεγ-*

κέρυ, Conviv. 5, 2. — Notice the repetition of ταῦτα three times in succession, and compare above § 13 the repetition of εἴη.

§ 16. Μαρωνείτης: from Μαρώνεια, a Grecian colony on the Thracian coast eastward from Abdera. — οἰστίνας refers to the collective ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ. — Παριανός: from Parium. Cf. 7, 2, 7. — πρῶτον μὲν: the correlative clause is αὐθις δέ § 18.

§ 17. διακείσθαι = ἔξει τὰ πράγματα.

§ 18. δωρεῖσθαι: should make presents. — καταγαγεῖν: to restore. Timasion was an exile; cf. 5, 6, 23; 7, 2, 2. — τοιαῦτα προῦμῶτο: the accus. is used because the notion λέγων is contained in the verb; cf. note 2, 1, 18.

§ 19. ἄλλοι: Alcibiades is especially referred to. Hellen. 1, 5, 15; 2, 1, 25. — ἕξιον: cf. note 2, 3, 25.

§ 20. ἔχων εἰ μὴ: having (any thing) except. — ὅσον ἐφόδιον: enough (money) for travelling expenses.

§ 21. καθήμενοι: the Greeks, on the contrary, after the heroic age reclined on couches at table. — τριπόδες: tables with three feet.

§ 22. αἱ τράπεζαι: by meton. the dishes of food which were placed on the tables. — ὅσον μόνον: only enough.

§ 23. τὸ διαρριπτεῖν εἰα χαλεπὸν: let the distribution take care of itself. — τριχολύκον: the χοῖνιξ of corn was considered a day's allowance for a man; hence we may render this three days' allowance.

§ 24. περιέφερον: (they) carried around. The subject is indefinita.

§ 26. οὐ μὴ: cf. note on οὐκέτι μὴ, 2, 2, 12.

§ 28. ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ: that I also, like others. — τιμῶν: sc. σε.

§ 29. ἤδη . . . ἐτόγχανεν: for he happened already to have drunk somewhat freely.

§ 30. ἐγὼ δέ: others present other gifts, but I etc. — τούτους: on the arrangement, cf. note 4, 2, 6.

§ 32. συνεξέπια καὶ κατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρα: drank off (a cup with Xen.), and after this cup poured (wine) over (the guests). Cf. Plat. Leg. 1, 637, e. Instead of μετὰ τοῦτο, Küh. reads μετ' αὐτοῦ, and Krüg. τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ. — κέρασι . . . αὐλοῦντες: (persons) blowing with horns such as they use in giving signals; is the subject of the sentence. — καὶ σαλπύγῃν . . . σαλπίζοντες: and sounding with trumpets made of raw ox-hide, both in time and as if with the magadis; ῥυθμός depends on σαλπίζοντες as accus. of kindred signification; μαγάδι: is an irregular dat. instead of μαγάδι: this instrument seems to have been a lyre with twenty strings. Cf. Dic. Antiqq. art. Lyra.

§ 33. πολεμικόν: cf. 4, 3, 29.

§ 34. ὅτι ὅρα: sc. εἴη. — ὅπως seldom stands after verbs of commanding and of similar meaning. They comm. take the infin. — of re

γάρ . . . φίλοι seems to be most naturally rendered thus, *for not only those who are enemies to us, but you who are our friends are Thracians*. Hence they could not easily be distinguished by night.

§ 35. οὐδέν τι: *not at all*. — αἰτούς, *alone*.

§ 36. ἀναμενεῖτε: the fut. is a milder and in this connection a more courteous expression than the imperative.

§ 37. εἴπερ . . . εἰ: cf. note 3, 2, 81, and also 3, 2, 22.

§ 39. σύνθημα: cf. note 6, 5, 25. — εἶπον: Seuthes and the Grecian generals. — Ἀθηναίων: an Ionic form, used also by the Attic writers instead of Ἀθηναῖ which gradually took the place of the other, older form. — συγγένειαν: of the Athenians and Thracians; cf. note 7, 2, 81.

§ 40. νύκτας: cf. note 1, 7, 1.

§ 41. τοῖς ἱπποῖς = τοῖς ἱππεύσι.

§ 43. τοῖς ἱπποῖς: without σύν; cf. τῷ ἱππῷ 1, 8, 1; and τῷ στρατεύματι 1, 7, 14.

§ 45. καὶ ὅς: cf. note 1, 8, 16.

§ 47. τάδε δὴ: sc. ἐστίν or γίγνεται. The remark of Xen. to which Seuthes here alludes is not found in the foregoing narrative. — ἀλλὰ γάρ: *but* (I am not without apprehension) *for*. — ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διόκων: cf. note 2, 1, 15.

§ 48. πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια: *other things* (such as) *sheep in great numbers*; cf. note 1, 5, 5.

#### CHAP. IV.

Further operations against the enemies of Seuthes, who are finally reduced to submission.

§ 1. οἷα: a brief expression for ἐνθυμουμένοις οἷα: cf. note on οἷους 1, 7, 4.

§ 2. ὅπως ἂν γένοιτο: ἂν denotes that the attainment of the object was conditioned, depending on circumstances; cf. note 2, 5, 16.

§ 3. ἀπεκαίοντο: cf. note 4, 5, 3.

§ 5. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων: partitive gen., *some of the captives*. — ὅτι: cf. note 5, 6, 19. — καὶ τούτων: *of these also*, as he had done to those mentioned § 1. — ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος: implies motion, Gr. § 299, 111, *went and encamped* etc. So in § 11. Cf. ὅφ' ἦν 3, 4, 37.

§ 8. θέται is not contracted, like θέσθαι 7, 7, 81.

§ 10. ἀντ' ἐκείνου: i. e. τοῦ παιδός. Cf. note 1, 2, 15. — μηδὲ ἔτερον is stronger than μηδέτερον. Cf. οὐδ' ἐνί 3, 2, 81.

§ 11. καλουμένοις: cf. note 1, 2, 18.



§ 18. ἄρα: cf. note 4, 2, 15.

§ 14. εἰς: cf. note 1, 7, 1.

§ 15. ἔφασαν, sc. οἱ Θυνεῖς. The Thynians affirmed this in their threats.

§ 16. Μαιέστιος: from Μάκεστος, or Μάκιστος in Elis. — δεκακαίδεκα appears to be too small a number. Küh. conjectures δεκά καὶ πενήκοντα.

§ 17. ὑπισθεν . . . τὰς πέλτας: casting their targets around behind them. It is conjectured that they may have been fastened on with straps, and hence, in leaping over the fences, some were caught on the stakes.

§ 18. τοὺς παρατρέχοντας . . . σκότους: two statements condensed into one, τοὺς παρατρέχοντας ἡκόντιζον, and εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ἡκόντιζον.

§ 19. τοῖς πρώτοις: the first that were ready. — ἦσθετο: became aware of what was going on. — ἐβοήθει: was coming for assistance.

§ 20. αὐτῷ and αὐτὸν refer to Xen. — ἐᾶσαι, sc. στρατεῦσθαι.

§ 21. τριπλασίαν, three times as large as before the arrival of the Greeks.

§ 24. δίκην: satisfaction. On the contrary in 2, 5, 38, it means punishment. ἔχειν has the same subject as νομίζω.

## CHAP. V.

Seuthes fails to fulfil his engagements with the army, but they continue in his service. They finally become dissatisfied with Xenophon, on account of the conduct of Seuthes.

§ 1. ὑπερβάλλουσι: without object as in 6, 5, 7. — Δέλτα: cf. note 7, 1, 33. — Μαισάδου: cf. 7, 2, 32.

§ 2. Ἡρακλείδης . . . παρῆν: from Perinthus; cf. 7, 4, 2.

§ 3. τοῖνον: cf. note 5, 1, 2; also § 10 below. — καὶ αὐθις: even at some future time, not now. — τοῖς στρατηγοῖς is in apposition with τοῖτοῖς.

§ 4. τῶν ζευγῶν: Krüg. suggests the reading τῶν μὲν ἡμιονικῶν ζευγῶν. — πλείον: i. e. from the booty which he sold.

§ 5. ἑαυτοῦ = σαυτοῦ. The reflexive of the 3d pers. is not unfrequently used by Xen. for that of the 1st or 2d pers.

§ 8. τέως: up to that time. — ὥς . . . παραδώσειν: cf. note 3, 1, 9. — καὶ τοῦτο διαβεβλήκει: had uttered this calumny also.

§ 9. ἔτι ἄνω is equivalent to ἀνωτέρω, further upwards. — σφεῖς: this unfrequent word is chiefly confined to indirect narration.

§ 10. *ἀν μέλλῃ, στρατευσαίμην ἂν*: cf. note 5, 1, 9.

§ 12. *Μελινοφάγων*: doubtless so named from their principal article of diet (*μελίμη*). — *Σαλμυθησός*: now called Midia. — *ἐκπίπτουσι*: cf. note 6, 4, 2.

§ 13. *πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι* is explanatory of *τέως*.

§ 14. *βίβλοι γεγραμμένοι*: an important testimony to the traffic in books among the Hellenic colonies of the Euxine. — *ταῦτα*: *these regions*, as in § 13, *κατὰ ταῦτα*.

§ 15. *ἀεὶ*: *continually, on each occasion*; cf. note 4, 1, 7.

## CHAP. VI.

Xenophon defends his own conduct by a striking presentation of the facts in the case. He declines the invitation of Seuthes to remain longer with him, and resolves to accompany the army into Asia, where it had been invited by the Lacedaemonians to join with them in a war against Tissaphernes.

§ 1. *στρατεύεσθαι*: this was to secure the freedom of the Ionian cities.

§ 2. *ἐπὶ*: cf. note 2, 3, 8.

§ 3. *παράγειν*: to introduce them, i. e. the Lacedaemonian ambassadors. — *τε* after *φίλος* is used to connect this clause with the foregoing.

§ 4. *τίς ἀνὴρ* = *ποῖος ἀνὴρ*, *what sort of a man*. — *χείρον*: *worse* than if he were not *φιλοστρατιώτης*. — *ἀλλ' ἦ*: *an ergo*.

§ 5. *ἄρα . . . μή*: this question indicates some solicitude. — *τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς*: the gen. denoting in what respect. — *τὸν μισθόν*: the article is used because the subject was mentioned above § 1.

§ 7. *ἔτι*: cf. note 1, 6, 7.

§ 8. *ἐπηκόψ*: cf. note 2, 5, 38.

§ 9. *οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα*: cf. note 4, 2, 4. — *τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνους*: lit. *our toils*, i. e. the results of our toils.

§ 10. *ὃ γε πρῶτος λέγων ἐγώ*, at least I the first one speaking, the subj. of *δοκῶ*. — *ὧν* = *τούτων* ἄ. — *ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος*: cf. 1, 5, 12.

§ 11. *ἀλλὰ . . . μὲν*: cf. note 1, 7, 6; *μὲν* apparently = *μήν*. — *πάντα*: *every thing, every sort of fortune*. — *ἀπετραπόμεν*: 7, 1, 4; 7, 2, 8.

§ 12. *ἴθην*: cf. note 1, 8, 17. For the allusion, cf. 7, 2, 8 et seqq.

§ 13. *ἔπερ . . . ἦν* is predicated of what follows.

§ 15. *εἰ ἐπαυῶ*: the pres. indic. is used, because Xen. does not wish to indicate his own judgment of the truth of the supposition, but to leave that entirely to the army. (Krüg.) — *περὶ ὧν* = *τούτων περὶ ὧν*.

§ 16. ἔχοντα: sc. ἐμὲ. — οἶμαι: cf. note 2, 1, 16. — ἐπὶ τούτῳ . . . ὅπως: on this condition, that etc.

§ 17. πρᾶττεν τινα τι: to demand any thing of any one, without signifying whether it is for one's self or for another. If this latter notion is to be added, the mid. πρᾶττεσθαι is used. (Hert.) — βεβαιῶ = ἐμπεδῶ, confirm, secure.

§ 18. πολλοῦ δεῖν: to lack much, to be far from; cf. ὀλίγου δεῖν 1, 5, 14. — σθένειέ μοι: lit. know with me, i. e. knows as well as I.

§ 19. μὴ τοῖνον μηδέ: a strong denial, no indeed not even etc.

§ 20. ὅσῳ . . . περισσόν: lit. by as much more as I should together with this man bear the poverty of that time.

§ 21. φεχυνόμεν: ἄν is omitted to impart more life to the expression; see Gr. § 260, Rom. 8. — φίλῳ ὄντι: for any one being a friend, limits ἀσχεῖν.

§ 22. εἰ γὰρ . . . φυλακὴ: if at least there is any protection to friends. — πᾶσαν, sc. φυλακὴν: accus. of cognate meaning with φυλαζομένους.

§ 23. τὰ ἐνέχυρα: the requisite securities. — τούτου depends on ἐπαυτίων, in the presence of.

§ 24. ὅτων: gen. of price; cf. ὅτου 8, 1, 20.

§ 25. ἐπὶ, on the borders of. — ἐν πολεμίᾳ εἶναι: sc. ἀνάγκη ἦν.

§ 26. ὅτε δὲ, connect with οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν, but there was not to us any force with which etc. — συνεστηκός: regular, organized.

§ 29. μηδαμῶς: cf. note on τὸ μὴ καταπετρασθῆναι 1, 8, 2.

§ 30. μισθὸν τῆς ἀσφαλείας: cf. note 5, 6, 31. — τοῦτο . . . πάθημα, is this the cruel suffering that you speak of, etc.? Spoken with bitter irony.

§ 31. οὐ: sc. ἀπέρχεσθε.

§ 32. πρὸς ἐκεῖνοις: in addition to those things, i. e. in addition to the reputation which you have acquired in Asia; ἐκεῖνοις though plural may refer to εἰ τι as collective. — τούτων: for those things, dependant on χάριν εἶδέναι and the antecedent of ἄν.

§ 33. ἀπῆρα from ἀπαίρω, I set out.

§ 34. πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους must be connected with διαβεβλημένους. — ἀποστροφὴν: cf. note 2, 4, 22. — καταθήσεσθαι: to secure (to one's self).

§ 35. καὶ ταῦτα πολλὰ κρείττωσιν ἑαυτοῦ: and that too with persons far more powerful than myself. — πραγματευόμενός τε ὁμῶν, instead of καὶ οἷς πραγ.

§ 36. ἐν τῇ μέρῃ: cf. note 3, 4, 23. — τρόπαια βαρβάρων: trophies commemorating victories over barbarians. — ἐδυνάμην: a recurrence to the 1st pers. although ἄνδρα above is 3d pers. — πρὸς ὑμῖν: in respect to you, for you.

§ 37. καὶ γὰρ οὖν: cf. note 1, 9, 8. — ὁμῖς stands as though καὶ ὁμῶν

*νομίζετε* followed instead of *καίρως δοκεῖ ὑμῖν*; another anacoluthon. — *οἷτι*: *because*; spoken with extreme bitterness. — *πλέετε*: not contracted; cf. note 7, 4, 8.

§ 38. *οὐ μὴν*: *οὕτως ἰδοὺ* *ὑμῖν*. — *μνημονικώτατοι* is ironical. — *οἷτοι*: Charminus and Polynicus.

§ 39. *οὐ τὰ σῶς*: cf. note 6, 6, 34. — *ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ*: cf. § 4 above.

§ 40. *Δουσιδάνης*: cf. note 4, 2, 21. — *τοῦτο* depends on *στρατηγήσαι* as an accus. of cognate meaning, *to lead on this expedition*, and of this *ἀναπράξαι* is epexegetical, *to exact from Seuthes* etc.

§ 41. *τὰ γιγνόμενα*: *the proceeds*. — *πέπται*: cf. note on *ἐπέπατο* 1, 9, 19. — *ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ*: *we shall keep hold of him*.

§ 43. *τὰ χωρία*: cf. 7, 5, 8. — *ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος*: *under seal of secrecy*.

§ 44. *ἐφ' οἷς* = *ἐπὶ τοῖσιν* *δ.* — *ἀναίρει*: this word is often used to denote the response of an oracle, or other divine response. On the asyndeton, cf. note 1, 3, 20.

## CHAP. VII.

The army plunders certain Thracian villages belonging to Medosades. In reply to the expostulations of Medosades, Xenophon defends the conduct of the army. He is then induced by Medosades to repair again to Seuthes; who is finally persuaded to furnish the means for paying the army.

§ 1. *ἐσκήνησαν* *eis*: a condensed expression for *ἐπορεύθησαν* *eis* . . . *καὶ ἐσκήνησαν ἐν* . . .

§ 3. *Μηδόκου*: cf. 7, 2, 32; 7, 3, 16. — *ἀλεξόμεθα* is occasionally used elsewhere as here for the fut.

§ 4. *καὶ ἀποκρίσασθαι*: *only to reply*; Gr. § 321, Rem. 5.

§ 6. *ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις*: cf. note 7, 2, 21.

§ 7. *νῦν δέ*: this *δέ* is only an emphatic repetition of the *δέ* at the beginning of the sentence, *now indeed*. — *κατὰ κράτος*: *by force, by right of conquest*.

§ 8. *οὐχ ὅπως*: *not only not*; Gr. § 321, 3. (b.)

§ 10. *τί καὶ*: cf. note 5, 8, 2. — *οὐδὲν ἐμὲ . . . ἀποδιδούς*: *not even having called me in (as an adviser), O most admirable men! so that, as I incurred their ill will when I led the army to you, so also now by delivering it up (to them, i. e. the Lacedaemonians) I might secure their favor*; *ὅπως* must be closely connected in idea with *οὐδὲν . . . παρακαλέσαντες*.

§ 13. *αὐτῷ*, i. e. *τῷ Ξενοφῶντι*: sc. *προεῖπον*. — *ἀπέναι ἐκ τῆς χάρας* is epexegetical of *ἀπερ*.

§ 14. *ἄν* belongs to ἀπολαβεῖν. — τὰ δίκαια: *what they have a right to demand.*

§ 15. *εἰ μὲν σὺ τι ἔχεις . . . λέγειν*: sc. λέγε δὴ. — *ἐχομεν*: sc. λέγειν.

§ 16. τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγενημένους: i. e. the inhabitants of the villages in which the Greeks were quartered; cf. § 1 and 18.

§ 17. τοῖς αὐτοῖς and τοῖς αὐτοῖς refer to οἱ ταῦτα ἡμῖν καταπράξαντες; i. e. the Greeks. — ἐνθενδε ἀρξόμεθα: *we shall begin from hence*, i. e. *we shall begin with you* etc.

§ 18. ἐν ᾗ τῇ χώρῃ, in whose country. — ὅποτε αὖ ψηφίσονται is dependent on ἐπιτρέψαι, *to leave to these men the decision of the question, whichever way they shall have decided, whether it was suitable*, etc.

§ 19. οὐκ ἔφη, sc. ἐπιτρέψαι ἄν. — οἴεσθαι: sc. ἔφη which is implied in the connection: πέμψειν on the other hand depends directly on ἐκέλευε.

§ 22. πρῶτον μὲν: the second reason is given § 27 et seqq. — μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς . . . καταστήσαντας: *that these persons next to the gods have placed you in an eminent position.*

§ 23. τοιοῦτω . . . ἀνδρὶ limits μέγα εἶναι: *to be an important thing for such a man.* — εἰ ἀκούειν ὑπό, *to be well spoken of by*; ὑπό with the gen. is used because εἰ ἀκούειν has the force of the pass. voice. — αὐτὸν, and λέγοις: a transition from the 3d pers. with which the sentence commenced to the 2d pers. — ὅ, τι: *in respect to what.*

§ 24. πλανωμένους: *wandering*, i. e. *failing in their object.* — σωφρονίζειν, *to render obedient*; corresponds to σωφρονεῖν (§ 30), *to be obedient.* — ἄλλων τὸ . . . κολάζειν: *the custom of others to inflict punishment at once.*

§ 26. τὸ καὶ . . . κατεργασμένον: *that which also secured to you the kingdom.* — τούτων τῶν χρημάτων: *for this money*, the money due from Seuthes to the soldiers; gen. of price.

§ 27. πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ: *does not mean, how important an object you deemed it* (that would be ὥς instead of πῶς); but *how you deemed it an important object* etc.; that is, πῶς qualifies the whole sentence, not simply μέγα.

§ 28. ἀρχήν, *as to a beginning*, i. e. *at all*, used with negations.

§ 29. τῇ σῇ is here objective, *friendship for you.*

§ 30. σωφρονεῖν: cf. note § 24. — τὰ πρὸς σέ: *in their relations to you.* — ἄλλους τε . . . παραγενέσθαι, depends on νομίζοιεν or some word of similar meaning suggested by ὀφείν. — τούτων: *from these* (Greeks); depends on ἀκούοντας. — μήτε . . . τε: cf. note 2, 2, 8.

§ 31. ἡμῶν λειψθέντες: *inferior to us.* — κίνδυνος μὴ: cf. note 4, 1, 6. — ἀναπράξωσι: sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

§ 35. ἀλλὰ γάρ: *at enim, but you may forsooth say something in reply for.* — πολλὸ ἐλαττον, *a much less difficult thing.*

§ 36. ὁ ὀρίζων: *which determines.*

§ 39. ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις: *for the sake of the soldiers, i. e. to conciliate the soldiers towards you.*

§ 40. μὴδὲ ἀποδιδόντος: *not even had you offered (it).* — κακῶς ἔχοντα agrees with τὰ.

§ 41. πρὸς: *in comparison with.*

§ 45. δῶρα: *object of ἔχειν.*

§ 46. ἀποκείσθαι: *should be laid up, should be preserved.* — ὑπισχνόμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλαστο: *were not satisfied in promising, were not weary in promising.*

§ 47. ὅτι σοι δοξε ἀποδοῦναι depends on διδάξειν, *will teach you that it shall seem good to you to pay what is due.* — τοὺς σοι προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν: *those who have thrown away a favor on you; the reference is of course to the Greeks.*

§ 49. ἀνομῶς . . . ὅτε: *not being in the same standing in the army now as when etc.; cf. 5, 4, 21.*

§ 50. τὰ χωρία: 7, 5, 8.

§ 53. τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους: *cf. 7, 4, 14 et seqq., and 7, 4, 20 et seqq.*

§ 54. ἐξικνῆται = ἐξαρκῇ. — τίνος τάλαντον, *whose talent.* — ἄρ' οὐκ ἔμεινον, *sc. ἔστι, is it not better etc.* — πέτρους: *a playful allusion to 7, 6, 10.*

§ 55. αὐτοῖς: *Xen. and his companions.* — ἐλᾶσοντας: *elsewhere Xen. like the other Attic writers uses the fut. ἐλῶ. — πολλήν . . . αἰτίαν: they received much censure, i. e. for fraud in distributing the money.*

§ 57. οὐ προσήει: *did not go near, i. e. to Charminus and Polynicus, lest he also should incur censure.* — οἴκαδε: *brief for ὡς οἴκαδε ἀπὸν. — οὐ γάρ πο: cf. Introduc. § 1.*

## CHAP. VIII.

The army crosses over to Lampsacus. Xenophon having taken to himself none of the pay for the army, finds himself in want. He proceeds with the army to Pergamus and is hospitably entertained by Hellas the wife of Gongylus. By her advice he attacks the neighboring castle of Asiatades a Persian, and having got possession of it, obtains a large amount of booty. The army is delivered up to Thimbron and incorporated with the forces which were raised to prosecute the war against Tissaphernea.

§ 1. Λάμψακος: *a city on the Hellespont N. E. from Abydus; now called Lampskaki.* — Φλιάσιες: *from Phlius (Φλιεὺς), a city between Argoli*

and Achaia. — τοῦ . . . γεγραφότος: these words have been explained in different ways, according as γράφειν has been taken in the sense to *paint* or to *write*; thus, *the one who painted in the Lycæum the dreams*, or, *the one who wrote the (work entitled) dreams in the Lycæum*.

§ 3. παρστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην: *he placed Euclides near (himself)*. — ἰδὼν τὰ ἱερὰ: the soothsayer appears to have drawn the inference of Xenophon's destitution from the inferior quality of the victima. — μέλλῃ: sc. χρήματα; — ἔσεσθαι, sc. σοι. — σὺ σαυτῷ: *you appear in the way of yourself*, i. e. through your own want of care for yourself.

§ 4. ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μεῖλ.: under this name Zeus was worshipped especially at Athens, at the festival called Διδασία. (Thucyd. 1, 126.)

§ 5. Ὀφρόνιον: a city of Troas, not far from Dardanus. — τῷ πατριῷ νόμῳ seems to be spoken of ἑλοκαύτει. It was not usual to consume by fire the whole victim in sacrifices, except in the case of those which were offered to Zeus Milichius.

§ 6. Bion and Euclides were sent by Thimbron. This Euclides is not the same as the one mentioned in § 1. — πενήκοντα δαρεικῶν: this price (not far from \$200), appears to have been an ordinary price for a good horse. (Hert.)

§ 7. τῆς Λυδίας . . . πεδίον: sc. ἀφικνούνται. — Θήβης πεδίον: called also Θήβη.

§ 8. Ἀτραμύτιον: a city opposite Lesbos, on a gulf of the same name. — Κερτορίου: perhaps it should be written Κυτορίου; it corresponds in situation with the modern Grecian city Κυθωνιάς. — ξενούται, *is hospitably received and entertained*; on the contrary in § 6 ξενούνται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, *they establish friendly relations with Xen.*

§ 9. αὐτόν, after ἔφη, means Xenophon.

§ 11. τε connects λαβὼν and δευτήσας. — βιασάμενοι: *having forced themselves into the company*. — ὡς ἐτοίμων: sc. ὄντων.

§ 12. τῆς τύρσιος depends on πέριξ. This word often governs the gen. in Herod.; seldom in Attic writers.

§ 14. ἐπί: cf. note 1, 2, 15 and 5, 2, 6. — διεφάνη: *impears*, an opening *appeared through*. — βουπόρφρ ὀβελίσκῳ: *with an enormous spear*.

§ 15. Κομανία: perhaps a castle in the neighborhood. — Ὑρκάνιοι. They dwelt on the eastern coast of the Caspian sea. — πελτασταί: in apposition with ἄλλοι. Cf. note on ἄλλο δένδρον 1, 5, 5. — Παρθένιον and Ἀπολλωνία: cities in the neighborhood of Pergamus.

§ 16. λαβόντες . . . ἀνδράποδα: *having taken as many oxen and sheep and slaves as there were, they drove them away etc.* With the position of ἡλαυνον, compare that of διήρπασαν 1, 2, 26; and ἀπῆγε 7, 1, 41. — οὕτω: Kühn. reads ἔτι. — εἰ . . . ἀπίουν: cf. note 3, 4, 85.

§ 17. καὶ αὐτός: *himself also*, as well as those mentioned § 15. — βία: *in spite of, against the will of*. — Προκλής: . . . ὁ ἀπὸ Δ.: cf. 2, 1, 3.

§ 18. κύκλῳ: *in the form of a circle*. Thus the arrows of the enemy would strike their shields obliquely. Krüg. conjectures that the shields on one side of the circle would be carried on the right arm. — πρό: *before*, so as to ward off.

§ 19. ὅσον: *enough for*; cf. 7, 3, 20. The expression implies that there were but few.

§ 20. μακροτάτην: sc. δδόν. — τῆς Λυδίας depends on μακροτάτην, *as far as possible into Lydia*. — εἰς τὸ . . . ἀφυλακτεῖν: *so that the enemy might not fear on account of the fact that the Greeks were near, but might be off their guard*. εἰς τὸ, *to the end that, so that*. Some editions have ὅστε.

§ 21. ἐπ' αὐτόν, i. e. ἐπὶ τῷ ἵέναι ἐπ' αὐτόν. — ἐχούσας: *extending*, seldom thus used. (Krüg.)

§ 22. ἀπέβη: *were fulfilled*. τὰ ἱερά, the signs discovered in the sacrifices.

§ 23. τὸν δεόν: τὸν Δία τὸν Μειλίχιον, § 4 et seqq. § 10. — ἐξαιρέτα: *choice portions of the booty*.

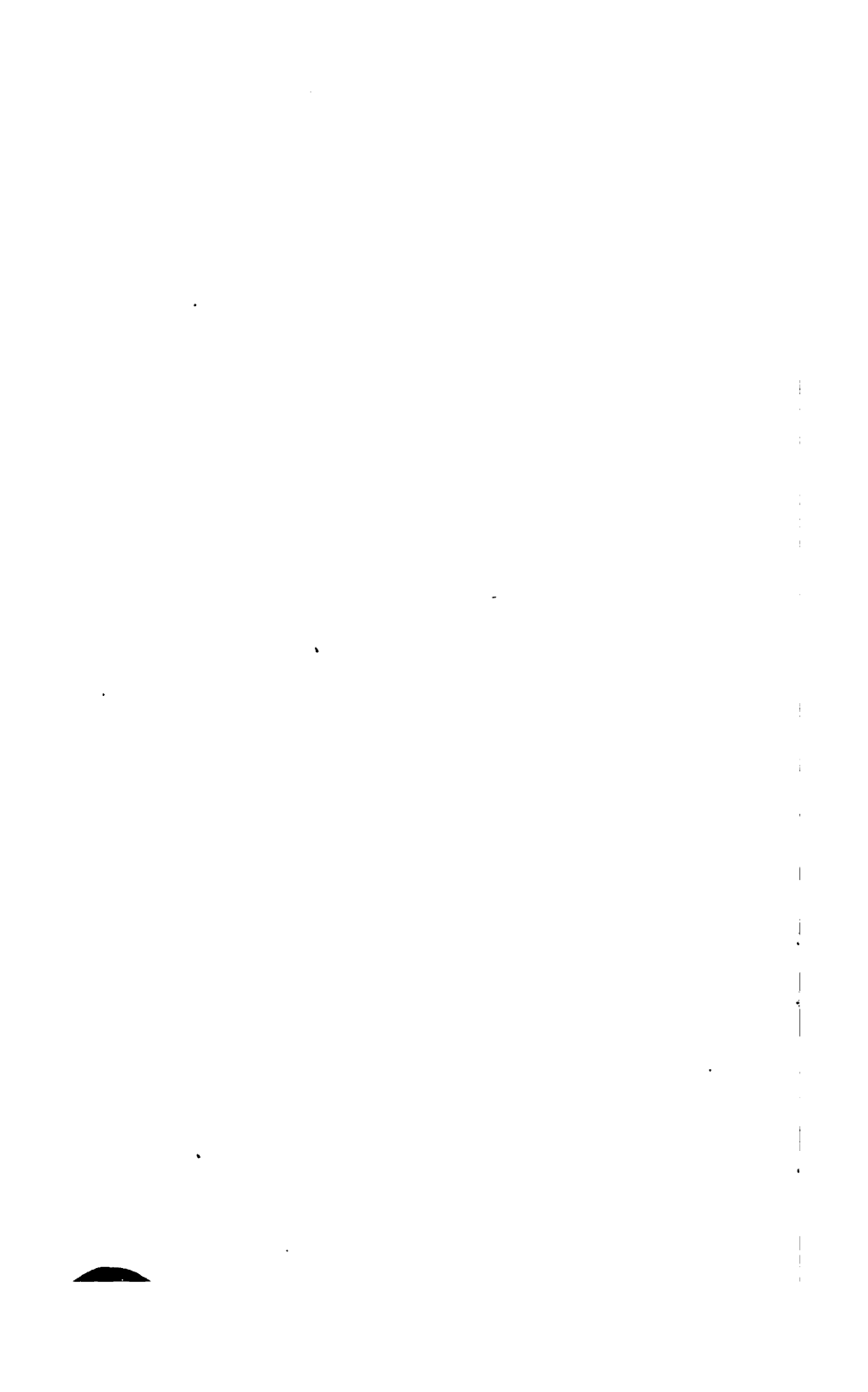
§ 24. ἐκ τούτου: *in the spring of 399 B. C.*

§ 25. This section and the following are supposititious. — ἐπήλθομεν: see Introduc. § 6. — Λυδίας . . . Φρυγίας. Much rather, Cyrus and afterwards Tissaphernes were satraps of these provinces; cf. 1, 9, 7 and 2, 5, 11. The same remark is true of Cappadocia. — Ἑσπερίται: cf. note 4, 7, 18. — Χάλυβες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι: in the Anabasis these are one and the same people. — Κοῖται: not elsewhere mentioned. — Χεύθης is improperly mentioned as one of the ἄρχοντες τῆς βασιλέως χώρας.

§ 26. ἑριθμός: cf. note 2, 2, 6. — δεκαέντε instead of πεντεκαίδεκα: such forms occur only in the later writers. — καταβάσκειν: only to Cotyora, as appears by a comparison with 2, 2, 6 and 5, 5, 4.

THE END.





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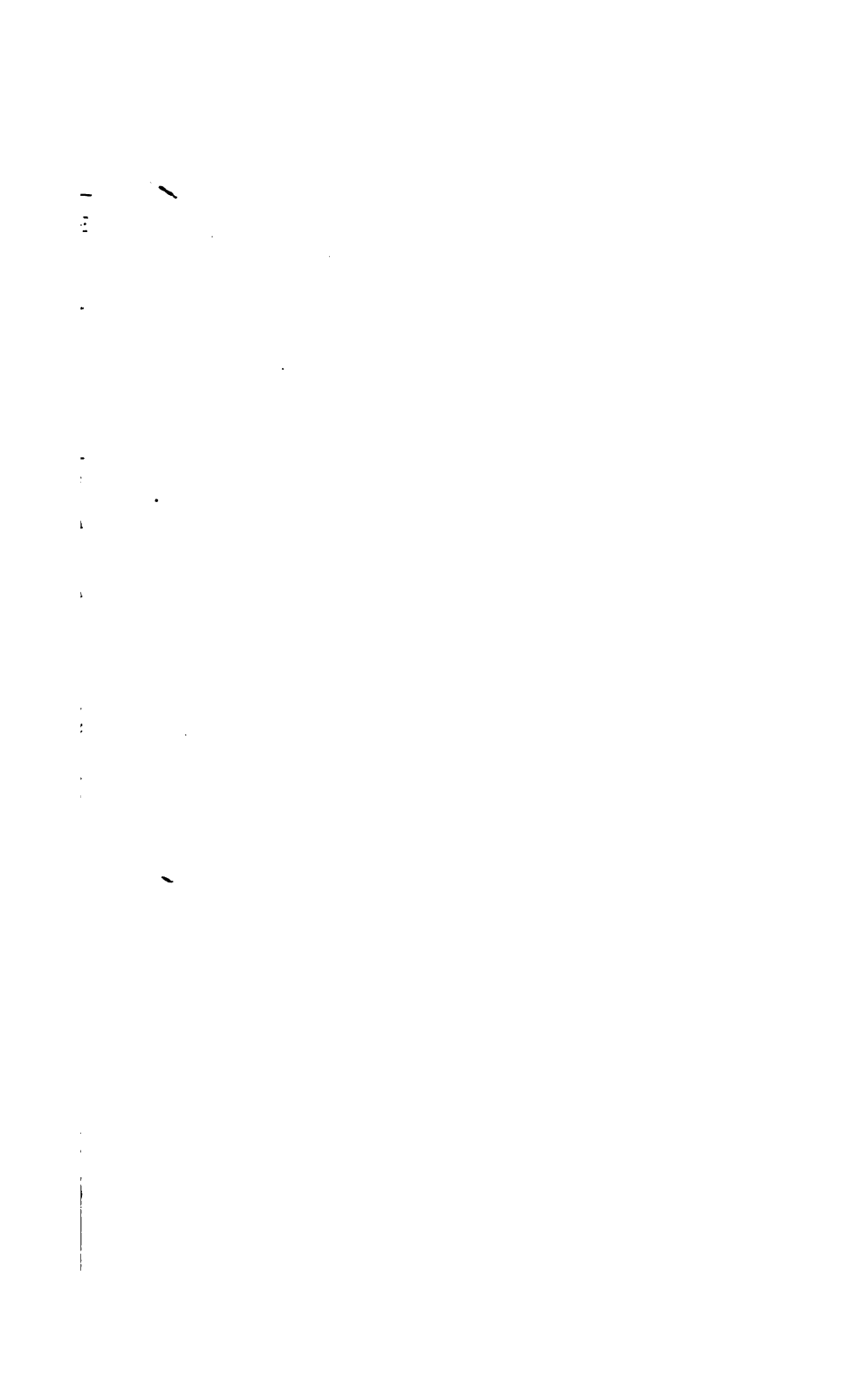
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